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¶ The first Booke

OF THE HISTO-

rie of the Discouerie and Con

queſt of the Eaſt Indias, enterpriſed by the Portingales, in their daungerous Nauigations, in the time of King *Don Iohn*, the ſecond of that *name*.

VVhich Hiſtorie conteineth much varietie of matter, very profitable for all Nauigators, and not vnpleaſaunt to the Readers.

Set foorth in the Portingale language, by *Hernan Lopes de Caſtaneda*.

AND NOW TRANSlated into Engliſh, by N. L. *Gentleman*.

N. L.

¶ Imprinted at London, by *Thomas Eaſt*.

1582.

Josiah H. Benton Fd.
Jan. 18, 1941
B

To the right Worshipfull

Sir Fraunces Drake, Knight, N. L. G. wisheth all prosperitie.

THey haue an auncient custome in Persia (the which is also obserued throughout all Asia) that none will enterprise to visit the king, noble man, or perticularly any other person of countenance, but he careth with him some thing to present him with all worthy of thanks, the which is not onely done in token of great humilitie & obedience, but also of a zealous loue & friendly affection to their superiours & wel willers. So I (Right worshipfull following this Persian president) hauing taken vpon me this simple translation out of the Portingale tongue, into our English language, am bold to present & dedicate the same vnto you as a signification of my entire good will. The history conteineth the discouerie and Conquest of the East Indias, made by sundry worthy Captaines of the Portingales, in the time of king Don Manuel, & of the king Don Iohn the second of that name, with the discription, not onely of the country, but also of euery harbor apperteining to euery place whervnto they came, & of the great resistance they found in the same, by reson wherof there was sundry great battels many times fought, & likewise of the commodities & riches that euery of these places doth yeeld. And for that I know your worship, with great perill & daunger haue past those monstrous & bottomelesse seas, am therfore the more encouraged to desire & pray your worships patronage & defence therof, requesting you with all to pardon those imperfections, which I acknowledge to be very ma-

ny,& ſo much the more by reaſon of my long & many yeares continuaunce in foreine countries. Howbeit I hope to haue truly obſerued the literall ſence & full effect of the hiſtory,as the Author ſetteth it forth,which if it may pleaſe you to peruſe & accept in good part,I ſhalbe greatly emboldened to proceede & publiſh alſo the ſecond & third booke, which I am aſſured will neither be vnpleaſant nor vnprofitable to the readers. Thus alwaies wiſhing your good worſhip ſuch proſperous continuance and like fortunate ſucceſſe as God hath hetherto ſent you in your daungerous trauaile & affayres, and as maye euerye waye content your owne heartes deſire, doe euen ſo take my leaue. From London the fift of March.

1582.

¶ Your worſhips alwayes to commaund,
Nicholas Lichefield, Gentleman.

¶TO THE MOST HIGH *and mightie Prince our King* and Souereigne, Don Iohn, the third of that name, king of Portingale, and of the Algarues, &c.

IT hath seemed to me so straunge and waighty a thing (most high & mightie Prince our king and Souereigne) to vndertake to write of the most worthy and valyaunt acts which the Portingales haue enterprised in the discouery and conquest of the Indias, that oftentimes I thought to giue ouer and relinquish the same, but as the attempt and doing thereof was principally taken in hande for the glorye of Almightye God, and to conuert those barbarous Nations to the Christian Faith, and the great honour of your highnesse, wherein God gaue them (by his Omnipotent power, fauour and mercye (such fortunate successe in the atchieuing of those famous actes, without whose great prouidence it coulde neuer haue béne performed or brought to passe. And therefore doe hope and altogether comfort my selfe with the ayde and assistaunce of his diuine goodnesse in publishing the same by writing, yéelding the glorie thereof onely to his celestiall Godhead, and the

praise terestriall vnto your excellent highnesse, and to that famous and most happie king, Don Manuel your Father. And although the same be well knowne and spread abroad ouer all the worlde, yet it cannot be so perfectlye published vnlesse it bee set forth in writing. For by this meanes the memorie thereof will indure for euer, because that the writings will alwayes shew the same to bee present. Like as it doth continue those actes of the Grecks, and of the Romanes, the which long since is past so many yeares. And therefore they lyke wise men, perceiuing the same to be true, did trauaile all that was possible to leaue the memorie thereof by writing, and noting that the worthinesse of the same did consist much in the eloquence of the writer, did therefore chose such excellent learned men as those were that wrote the same, being thereto aided with much fauour and helpe, of others that were nothing inferior vnto theyr own, & possible were far greater, but for that the same did not remaine in writing, there is no memorie thereof, euen as those of the Assyrians, of the Medes, of the Persians, of the Affricans against the Romanes, of the Sweuians against Iulius Cæsar, of the spaniards against the Moores in the recouerye of their Countrey of Spayne. Principallye of those inuincible and holye kinges of Portingale your auncestours, the king Don Alonso Henriques, the king Don Sancho his sonne, the king Don Alonso, the which did gettte the kingdome of Portingale, and of the Algarues, in the which conquest there was wonderfull greate actes done, and that by force of Armes. Of all the which almost there hath remayned no memorie of that there shoulde haue bene, yea, those matters of the Indyas, the which was done but yesterdaye, there is no man that hath the same in memorye more then foure personnes, so that if they had dyed, all the same hadde ended with them, the which woulde haue bene imputed to theyr greate shame and rebuke.

And

And I hauing a regarde, and partlye a remorse to see this losse, did therefore determine my selfe to note of those notable actes, the which your subiects hath done in the discouerie and Conquest of the Indias, of whose valiauntnesse there is none of theyr progenitours of any age or antiquitie that euer did excede them, no, nor yet were equall with them. For leauing a side the Conquest of the Semyrian of Cyro, Pirrhus, and of other barbarous, all (the which was nothing in comparison of this) and take amongest them also that great Alexander the which was so feared and wondred at throughout all the world, since that the Indias is frequented by the Portingales: theyr doings are no more merualled at, then a dead Lyon in respect of one aliue, for the Conquest of Alexander was all by lande, and against people that were smallie accustomed or trayned in the feates of warres, hee allwayes going in his roiall person, but this of the Indias was done by sea, and that by your Captaines, being vpon the same a whole yeare, and eight monethes, and at the least sixe monethes, not along or nere any coast, but by the bottomeles and great Occean Sea, and departing from the lymites of the Occident, and bearing sayle allwayes towarde the Cape De las Playas, or such lyke, without discouering or seing any other thing, but onelye the heauens and water, going round about all the Spheare, a matter neuer before attempted by anye mortall man, nor yet almost imagined by anye, to put the same in practise, and they hauing past greate hunger, thirst and other infirmityes, besides that euerye day with those furious stormes and raines, in daunger a thousand times of their liues. And as I say, they hauing past those feares and daungerous troubles by sea, yet after theyr arriuall into the Indias, found themselues in great and cruell battells, (not with men that did fight onely with their Bowes, Arrowes, and Speares,) as they didde in Alexanders time, but with such as were stout & of a hauty stomacke, and with men that were experienced in the warrs,

of the which kinde of people there is not onely in the Indias, but as farre as we can vnderstand, there is of the like in Asia, and besides theyr accustomed weapons (the which are many and good) yet they haue Ordinaunce, Calæuers, and many fire-workes more plentie then the Portingales had, so that the power of these men was alwaies so greate, that the force of king Poro with whome Alexander did fight, was not comparable, yet notwithstanding the Portingales did giue them continually the ouerthrow, although theyr strength was but small, yet they neuer left the warres, as Alexander did. And leauing off to declare of the Grækes and of theyr actes, and now to come to the Romanes, who with theyr huge armye, and with theyr greate Flæte, the which seemed to couer the whole Sea, thought to conquest the whole worlde, yet they neuer durst aduenture by Sea further then the redde Sea, neyther yet the greatest of their famous victoryes, did or was euer lyke vnto the least of those battayles that was done by our men in the Indyas, in the which it is so well knowne, most inuincible Prince, the greate prosperitye of the King your Father and you, so that without mouing of your selfe out of your pallaice, was discouered and conquered by your Captaines, the which neuer Princes could by themselues conquere or discouer, so that there was neuer Conquest of the Barbarous, nor of the Grecians, nor of the Latynists, the which was of lyke difficultie as this hath beene, neyther yet Kinges nor Captaines, of none of all these Nations, was so equall in force nor yet in valyauntnesse as those of your Father, and of yours, the which is manifestly declared by the discourse of the historie following.

And touching theyr greate actes which they dydde worthelye fulfill and bring to passe, we must verelye beleeue that it was Gods good will and pleasure, that those Barbarous, being discouered with theyr vaine Idolls, and with the false sect of Mahomet, shoulde ioyne

themselues with the Catholike faith, and to be as it wer in one Corall, and vnder one Pastour or Shepheard, as at this present the great multitude that hereby are increased to the Christian Religion, is a manifest testimonie and witnesse thereof. After which great exployts, your Highnes gaue commandement that the Christian doctrine of the Brotherhod of the company of Jesus should be there instructed & taught them, of the which your Highnesse hath had so speciall a care like a most godlye and Christian Prince, that not onely you were the first that commaunded the same to be brought from Rome, for that they might bee the better instructed in all their Kingdomes, but also doeth maintaine vpon your owne charges in this holy companye the multitudes that doeth daylye submit themselues to the same. As we doe see in the sumptuous Colledge of Coimbro, where to ennoble and augment the honor of your kingdomes, you haue erected and founded an Vniuersitie: where, with the charges that is daylye done there, and with your countenaunce together, it is hoped, that the same may be accounted amongst the florishing Vniuersities of all Europe: whereas there is maintained also vpon your charges manye Colledges of the order of poore begging Friers, and others of like profession, for like as the reformation that was there made was profitable to them all: so he commaunded, that there should be many Diuines for to declare the Euangelycall law, which your Highnes is not onely at this charges with religious men, but also with temporall men, for as there is many of your subiects that doth defend ỹ state Republike or Common welth, and doth inlarge the same with their armour, so ther are others that doth beautifie the same with learning. These heroycall vertues of your Highnesse being so well knowen vnto me, forsomuch as this Booke, besides others that I haue made, hath some tast or kindred of learning, doth incourage me the more to set them forth, for that as I say, there may remaine a perpetuall memorye of so notable actes as so many Gentlemen and Knights of

the Portingales your subiects hath done, the which hath benefited me very much, my being in the Indias, where I trauayled with my Father, who by your Highnes commaundement was sent thether to serue as a Iudge. And for that I spent all my youth in learning, and gaue my selfe greatly in reading of auncient Hystories, and hauing seene and read a great part thereof, did then immediately procure to know and with all diligence did my best indeauour to vnderstand what had bene done in the Discouerie of the Indias, and in the Conquest of the same, by the Portingales, with the intent as aforesayde, which was to make the same knowen, and common to all men: by meanes whereof, and through the instructions of sundry Gentlemen and Captaines, many things came to my knowledge, by such persons as were then and there present, as well in the counsayle for the prouision for that which should be done, as also in the execution thereof, and otherwise by many letters and pamphlets, the which were written by men of great credite, and lykewise examined as sufficient witnesses for better credite of the worke. Moreouer, I did not onely vse this dilygence in the Indias, but after my comming to Portingale didde the lyke. For as those matters the which I meant to write of, were many and of sundrye orders, so it was necessarye to enforme my selfe of the same by manye: and beside that those that gaue me this instructions wer sworn, yet I was licensed to present them as witnesses. There were of them that I sought in the most part of Portingale: for what with the great trauell of my person, and expences of my goodes, for that they were seperated in sundry parts, and in this I haue spent the most part of my lyfe, forsomuch as this was my onely recreation, hauing ioyned together all these informations, since my being in the Vniuersitie of Coimbro, in your Highnes seruice, at such time as I found my selfe not occupied with the executing of my office, with great trouble (not onely of the body, but also of the spirite) made an end of this Booke with others, the which I doe humbly offer

vnto

vnto your Highnes, whome God (after manye and moſt
foꝛtunate yeares, remayning in your place
the Pꝛince) take and receiue you
from the ſenurie of the
earth, vnto the ioyes
of heauen.

Your Highnes moſt humble Orator,
Hernan Lopes de Caſtaneda.

How the King Don Ioan the second

of that name, did send to seeke out by sea and by land the East India, and of the newes that was brought him of the same. Cap. 1.

THIS King Don Ioan the second of that name, & of the Kings of Portingale, the thirteenth, perceiuing that all the Spices, Drugs, Stones, and other riches, which came to Venice, were brought out of a certaine Prouince of the East parte: And as he was a Personage of an hautie stomacke and valiaunt minde, so was he desirous to inlarge his Kingdome, and increase the Christian faith, and therefore he determined to discouer by Sea, the Country, from whence so great plentie of riches came, that thereby his Subiects might be inriched, and his Kingdome of Portingale enioy all such commodities as came from thence to Venice. Moreouer, to discouer the same Countrey, he was the rather animated and enclined, for that he was giuen to vnderstand, that in the East India, were Christians, which were gouerned by a King of great power called Præsbiter

Ioan, with whom Don Ioan thought good to haue acquaintaunce, and to know him by his Ambassadors, and the rather for that he was reported to be a Christian Prince: And therefore consulting with the Cosmographers of that time, he gaue them in charge to procéde and goe forwarde by example of others, which had sayled along the Coast of Guynee, which Coast was before that time discouered by commaundement of the Prince his Vncle, Maister of the Order of Christ, who had sent for that purpose one Bartholome Dyas, one of the Officers of his Storehouse in Lysshborne, who did discouer that great & monstrous Cape, not knowen of our Auncestours, which is now called the Cape of Buena esperansa: And finding there matter of great terrour and daungers, he passed beyond the same, one hundred and fortie leagues, where, comming to a Riuer, which he named Rio del infante, from thence he retourned to Portingale. In this voyage, he gaue to the Ports, Herbours, and Riuers, where he toke in fresh water, theyr names, which at this present they doe retaine. Likewise, he erected there certaine markes with Crosses, and with the roiall Armes of Portingale, and the last that he erected, was in a Rocke, the which they named, El pennol de la crus, which standeth fifténe leagues on this side the forelayde Riuer. And from thence he retourned without hearing any newes, or yet hauing any further intelligence of that India, by reason all the Inhabitaunts along those Coasts bée almost a sauage and a wilde kinde of people, and of coulour blacke.

The order of Christ in Portingale giuē vnto Noble men & Gentlemen & to some that are made knights.

This voyage and intelligence, being intimated and reuealed to the King Don Ioan, he forthwith minded to discouer that India by land, albeit before that time he had dispatched and sent for the same discouerie intended, a Fryer of the order of Saint Fraunces, called Fryer Antonio de Lixbona, by land, in the company of a tempozall man, which two persons, for want of the Arabian tongue, could not well trauaile those parts, so that they went no farther then to Ierusalem, from whence without profiting in the cause of

that

that iourney, they returned into Portingale.

The King neuertheleſſe continuing to proſecute to effect his determination for diſcouerye of that India by lande, did therevppon chooſe two of his owne ſeruauntes, men of good knowledge, and dilygent in whatſoeuer they were to be imployed, the one called Pedro de Couillian, borne in the ſaide Village, and the other called Alonſo de Payua, borne in the Towne of Caſtil Blanco, which did verye well vnderſtande the language of Arabia, to whome he tolde how that he had made choyce of them, as of perſons apt to execute his pretence, which was to diſcouer by lande as well the Countrey of Presbiter Ioan, as alſo that, from whence the Drugges and Spices come to Venice: Giuing them in charge, and that earneſtlye to make dilygent enquirye, and gather certaine knowledge whether that from the Cape of Buena Eſperansa forwarde there were anye Nauigation to the Eaſt India, and that they ſhoulde ſet downe all thinges they founde neceſſarye to bee knowen, or that they coulde by anye poſſible meane learne or gather of the ſame for certaintye: Commaunding alſo a Sea Carde to bee giuen them, which was taken out of a Mappe of the whole worlde, by a Maiſter of Arte, called Calſadilla, Biſhoppe of Vyſeu, who was a good Aſtronomer. Another iorney by lande attempted.

Moreouer, hee gaue them a Letter of credite, whereby they might bee ſuccoured and protected from, and in, daungers of death, and in caſes of neceſſitie and want of money, in whatſoeuer Kingdomes and Countreyes theyr happe ſhoulde be to trauayle. And for theyr charges, hee commaunded to giue them foure hundreth Crownes out of the Cheſt of the Orchard of Almeryn: Of which ſumme, they toke as much as they deemed would ſuffice for theyr expence, vntill they came to Valencia in Aragon, putting the reſidue in the Bancke of Bartelme Florentine to be deliuered them there: and ſo he gaue them the bleſſing of God and his, in the preſence of the King

Don Manuel, who at that time was Duke of Veſa.

After this they departed from the Village of Santaxen the ſeauenth day of May, in the yeare of our Lord, a thouſand foure hundred foure ſcore and ſeauen, and came to Naples vpon Saint Iohns daye the ſame yeare, from whence they were ſet forward on their way, by Coſmo de Medicis ſonnes, and ſo went they from thence to the Rhoodes, of which Religion, wer then none other but Portingales. And from the Rhoodes they went to Alexandria, from thence to the Cayro, as Merchaunts, and from thence in the companie of certaine Moores of Feez, and Fremencen, they came to Toro, which is a place that hath his harbour in the Straights of the red Sea in the Coaſt of Arabia, at the foſe of the Mountaine Sinay, where they vnderſtood manie matters of the Indies, and of the trade thoſe places had out of the Straightes to Calicut: and therevpon they trauailed to another place in the ſelfe ſame Straightes of the Redde Sea, ouer the Coaſte of Aethiopia, from whence they went to Edin: And for that it was out of the waye to the Indies, they parted companye and ſeuered themſelues: Alonſo de Payua remained to go ouer by land to the Emperour of Aethiopia, which is he, whom we before haue named vpon errour Presbiter Ioan: for the certaintie is, this is he of whom Marco Paulo maketh mention in his booke, who gouerneth all the Indies, and whoſe Countrey toyneth vnto the great Cam of Catayo, where in a battaile betweene them fought, the ſaide Preſter Ioan was vanquiſhed and dyed. And ſo thenceforth finally ended his Kingdome, ſo that in theſe dayes, there is in trueth none of that name or race that raigneth or gouerneth. It is to be vnderſtoode, that Alonſo de payua did verely beleeue, that this Emperour of Aethiopia, was this ſuppoſed Presbiter Ioan, by reaſon he was informed and had intelligence that the ſame Emperour was a Chriſtian, and the People of his Kingdome were alſo Chriſtians, as hereafter I ſhall declare, when occaſion ſhall ſerue.

Presbiter Ioan by errour, is the verye Emperour of Aethiopia.

For

For which cause, I am in opinion, ỹ Alonso did depart towards his Court, taking order and determining with Pedro de Couillian, that at a time appointed they shuld mæt in the great Cayro: This conference and determination betwæne them so had and accorded vpon, Pedro de Couillian went towards the Indies in a shippe of the Moores of Cananor, and bæing come to the Indies, he went to the towne of Calicut, and to the Ilands of Goa, where hæ gathered perfect informatiõ & intelligence of the spices which they haue in the Indies, and of the commodities which come from other places, and of the lyke sorte of Townes which were ther in the Indies, of all which he set downe the names in the Card he carried with him, albeit ill written. And after he had sæne those places, he went to Sofala, where he gathered knowledge of the great Iland of San Laurenco, which the Moores doe call La ylla de la Luna: And sæing the people of Sofala, to be blacke as those of Guynee are, he therevpon surmised that all that coast was subdued, and that they might goe by Sea to the Indias, and therefore returning thence, he went to Ormuse, and so to Cayro, where hæ vnderstode that Alonso de Payua was dead: And bæing desirous to returne to Portingale, by chaunce hæ mette with two Iewes of Spaine, the one called Raby Abraham, borne in Vesa, the other Ioseph, borne in Lamego: These after the departure of Pedro Couillian and Alonso de Payua, from Portingale, tolde the King Don Ioan, that they had bæene in the Cayro, & vnderstode there much newes of Ormuse, and of theyr tract had with and into the Indies: Wherevpon the King sent letters by Raby Abraham to Pedro Couillian, and to Alonso de Payua, declaring that his pleasure was, they shoulde retourne in the companie of those Iewes, if they had sæne all those thinges, whereof hæ gaue them charge and commaundement, at their departure: if not, that then they shoulde sende by those Iewes a declaration, and true reporte what they had sæne, and had intelligence of: And moreouer that they shoulde procure to atteine to the sight

of Presbiter Ioan, and alſo ſhewe and informe what they coulde concerning Ormuſe to Raby Abraham for that hée had ſworne by his lawe neuer to retourne to Portingale, vnleſſe hée firſt ſawe the ſame: Vppon receipte of which letters and meſſage, Pedro de Couillian his purpoſe of retourning to Portingale was then ſtayed: And therefore he forthwith diſpatched Ioſeph with letters to the King, his Lorde and Maiſter, wherein hée related and fully declared in euery reſpect what hée had ſéne in the Indias, and of Sofala: and lykewiſe hée ſent the Carde in which all the Townes names were put downe, that hée had ſéne: Informing alſo the King Don Ioan, that the Emperour of Aethiopia is hée who is ſuppoſed to bée ỹ Presbiter Ioan: But I am of opinion, that in Portingale remaineth this name of Emperour of Aethiopia, for that in his kingdome hée is not called by the name of Preſter Ioan, as I will hereafter declare: When Ioſeph was departed, Pedro de Couillian, with Raby Abraham, went towards Ormuſe, and thence to the ſtraights of the red ſea, and hauing ſhewed to the ſame Raby thoſe places and ſcituation therof, Pedro Couillian then ſent him to Portingale, with letters to the king, importing what hée ſhewed him, and how that hée himſelfe was determined to make his voyage to Presbiter Ioan, and after this purſuing that his intent accordingly, he came to the preſence of ỹ Emperour, that then ther reigned and gouerned, whoſe name was Alexander, of whome hée was verye well receiued, and when hée had preſented vnto him the letters of the king Don Ioan, he accepted the ſame verye ioyfully, in that they came from a Chriſtian Prince ſo farre diſtaunt from his Countrie: Howbeit hée gaue to the ſame little credite, and yet neuertheleſſe hée gaue vnto Pedro de Couillian, great honour and gifts: and when hée was in a readyneſſe to departe thence, and expected liſence for the ſame, which hée had requeſted, and ſhould haue béene graunted him, the Emperour then deceaſed: after whome ſucceéded in the Empire another named Nahu, hée coulde not by him bée lycenſed to depart thence, neither

The king of Portingales letters deliuered to the Empe rour of Aethiopia

yet

yet of his sonne Dauid, who was Emperour also, and succéded Nahu: so that Pedro de Couillian, remayned in that Countrie, and neuer after returned into Portingale, neyther yet the King Don Ioan euer heard or vnderstode more of him, and therefore supposed him to bée dead. Onely there remaineth the information of his trauailes, which hée had sette downe and written in the letters which the Iewes carryed: After this came to Lisshborne a Frier out of the Countrie of Presbiter Ioan, to whome the king shewed great curtesie, and vpon whose reporte, and great relation made of that countrie, the king then determined to procéde in, and follow the discouering of the Indias by Sea, and therefore hée commaunded two little Shippes to bée made, committing the charge of that preparation, and appointing for ouersée or surueiour of the Timber then cut for that purpose, one Ioan de Braganca his seruaunt borne in the wodes, in a village called Daluor, and was brought to Lisshborne to the house of the Myna, in the yeare of our Lord a thousande foure hundred nintie fiue, the fiue and twentie daye of October in the same yeare: and afterward did succéde in that Kingdome, the most high king of glorious memorye Don Manuel, by whome also it appeared that he was there elected by diuine prouidence for discouery of those Countries and Prouinces, whereby the Christian faith is so greatly increased and inlarged, & the royall house of Portingale so mightely honoured, and the subiectes of the same so plentefully enriched.

¶How King Don Manuel the first of that name, prepared after the decease of King Don Ioan, to discouer the Indias by one Vasco de la Gama, and by other Captaines, and howe they departed from Lysshborne.

Chap. 2.

The

THE King Don Ioan being dead, Don Manuel then ſucceeded him, in whome appeared a higher ſtomacke, and more valyauntneſſe of minde (for atteining of things impregnable & making triall, and executing matters that paſſed common capacitie of man, and aboue the reach of naturall knowledge) then was in Alexander the greate. Don Manuel now come to the crowne, and earneſtly minded & bent to proſecute that which his predeceſſour Don Ioan had begun, for diſcouering of the Indias, and being therein greatly furthered by ſuch matter, order, and intelligence, as he found, and were left by the late king for Nauigation to thoſe farre countries: he then commaunded that Fernan Lorenſo, Treaſurer of the houſe of the Myna, ſhould cauſe to be made and prepared of the timber which was bought in king Iohns time, two ſhippes, whereunto after they were finiſhed, he gaue the names, to the one, the Angel Gabriel, being of an hundred and twentie tunne: and to the other Saint Raphael, a ſhippe of one hundred tunne. And to goe in the companie of theſe ſhips, the King then bought of a Pilot that was borne in Lagus, called Berrio, a Caruell of fiftie tunne, which had and bare the ſelfe name of the Pilot: Moreouer he bought a ſhip of two hundred tunne, of one Ayres Correa. Theſe Shippes thus made readie and prepared, and the king then being in Monte mayor the new, with his firſt wife the Quéene, Dona Izabel, in the yeare a thouſand foure hundreth nintie ſeuen, he then gaue the chiefe Captaine ſhippe of this voyage vnto the Indias to Vaſco de la Gama his ſeruaunt, who alſo before was ſeruaunt to Don Ioan, & borne in the towne of Synis, a harbour towne in the fields of Dorricke. The ſame was a man experimented in matters of the Sea, and of Nauigation, wherein he had done to this kingdome great ſeruice. And forasmuch as he was a man of greate courage and valure, and therefore very apt and likely to atteine and atchieue the end, ỹ was by the king deſired, the king then accordingly in preſẽce of many noble perſonages, to his great

praiſe,

praise, and no lesse incouragement, commaunded him, when he gaue him the charge of that iourney, earnestly also requiring him, to aunswere and satisfie the expectation and credit he had conceiued of him and reposed in him, which if he did, he would then very largely reward that his indeauour, and trauell, and so liberally deale towardes him, as he shoulde finde himselfe satisfied for that his dilligence and seruice imployed: and for some proofe of those princely and louing speaches, he then beganne to make performaunce of parte thereof, at that verye instant, giuing him an Encommenda, with money to put himselfe in a readinesse for that voiage: And for to goe with him, the king also dispatched one Paulo de la Gama, brother to the Captaine Generall, and one Nicholas Coello, both of them the kings seruants, and men méete and apt for whatsoeuer matter of enterprise or cause of valiauntnesse: Moreouer he appointed one Bartholome Dyas, to goe with them in a Caruell to the Myna: And for that in the ships of warre, sufficient victualls for the people in the same, could not be carried further then to a place called Saint Blaze, where they must of course take in fresh water, the king gaue commaundement that the shippe of Ayres Correa should goe loaden with victuals vnto that place in the companie of the Flét, and there to take out the same, and then to burne the said Ship. The Captaine Generall thus informed, and dispatched, departed with the other Captaines from the Kings court, towardes Lisborne, where the ships being in a readinesse, he imbarked his companie, béeing one hundred fortie and eight persons, in Belen, one league from Lisborne, vpon the Saturday being the eight day of Julye, in the yeare of our Lorde God, a thousand foure hundred ninetie and seauen. At which imbarking all the religious men of our Ladie Church in Belen, which is a Monestarie of Saint Hierome, went in Procession bare foted, and in their cowles with ware Candles in their hands praieng, and the most part of the people of Lisborne with them, al of them weeping and pitieng those that so imbarked themselues, supposing they should all die in that

The number of persõs in this voyage.

ſo aduentrous and daungerous voiage, as in déde the preſumption and common opinion thereof was greate, and no leſſe to be adiudged of. The Generall and other his Captaines with their people ſo imbarked, and by the multitude and companie then preſent, commended to God and good fortune, they forthwith made ſaile and departed: The Captaine Generall went in the Ship called Saint Gabriel, hauing Pilot for ỹ ſame, one Pedro de Alanquer, which was Pilot with Bartholome Dyas, when he went to diſcouer ỹ riuer called El ryo del ynfante: The brother of the Captaine generall, went in the ſhip called S. Raphael: Nicholas Coello went in the Caruell Berrio, & one Gonſalo Gomes, ſeruaunt to the Captaine generall, went for Captaine of the ſhip that carried their victuals. Thus being ſet forward and vnder ſaile, the Captaine generall commaunded, that if by any happe whatſoeuer, they ſhould bée ſeuered and loſe each other, they ſhuld euery one make, and kéepe, their rote or courſe to Cabo Verde, where they would ioyne themſelues together againe. And ſo following their voiage, they came within eight dayes after to the ſight of the Ilandes of the Canaries, from whence going ouer againſt the Riuer called Ryo de Oro, the night did growe ſo darke, and ſuch great tempeſt and ſtorme roſe as they loſt each other; and therefore they retourned their courſe towardes Cabo Verde, and Paulo de la Gama, Nicholas Coello, Bartholome Dyas, and Gonſalo Gomes, hauing met, and after eight daies ſailing together, they came to ſight of their Captaine Generall, vpon the wedneſdaye in the Euening, and ſaluting him with many ſhot of ordinaunce, and with ſound of Trumpets, they ſpake vnto him, each of them heartely reioyſing, and thanking God for their ſafe méeting, and good fortune in this their firſt brunt of daunger and perill: The next day béeing the twenteth day of July, the Captaine generall with all his Fléet, attained vnto the Ilands of Sancty Ago: wher cõming to anker in ỹ play de Santa Maria, they remained there ſeuen daies, taking in ſuch water as they had néed of, & repairing the yards of their ſhips and other

harmes

harnes they had receiued in the storme past. Tewsday being the third day of August, the Captaine Generall departed thence, following his course to the East, but first before his departure he toke his leaue of Bartholome Dyas, who returned into Portingale: And going towarde the Cape of Buena Esperansa, with all the ships of his companie, hee entered the goulfe into the Sea, and from thence sailed all August, September, and October, in which time they sustained many and great tempests, or rather torments of outragious windes and raine, so that they expected nothing but present death, which still was represented before them by view of the manifolde daungers and perills, they presently then salue, and whereof they were forced to abide the euenture: Being thus perplexed, God of his diuine goodnesse recomforted them, for vpon the saturdaye, being the fourth day of November at nine of the clocke in the fore-noone, they sawe land, whereat they greatly reioyced, and all the Captaines being together, they then saluted the Generall, all of them apparelled in their best araie, and hauing decked and garnished their shippes with Flagges accordingly, they drew neere the land as the generall had commaunded, who was desirous to haue landed: Howbeit for that they did not know the land, he commaunded them to cast about a sea bord, and so they passed along by the same vntill tewsdaie following, at what time they came to perfect viewe and sight of the land, perceiuing the same to lye lowe, and that there was a great bay, which as it was a conuenient place for the ships, so he commanded them to fall to an anker there, of purpose to take in water: And afterward they named it the Iland of Sancta Hælena. The people of the countrie within the said Iland, as our men afterward found the same: bee lyttle men, ill fauoured in the face, and of colour blacke: and when they did speake, it was in such manner as though they did alwayes sigh, they apparell is of beastes skinnes made after the manner of the French Cloakes, they trusse vp and hide theyr members in certeine Cases made of woode verye well wrought.

Bartholome Dyas returneth into Portingale

Description of the people & manners of Saint Helens Iland.

They haue for armes or weapons certaine ſtaues of an Oke træ bathed or toaſted with fire, at the endes whereof are hornes of beaſts, ſomwhat burnt or hardened with fire, alſo ſeruing them for ſwords, and wherewith they do hurt their enimie. Theſe people doe mainteine themſelues with rootes of hearbes, with Sea Woulfes, and Whale fiſh, of which the countrie there hath great plentie, and likewiſe of ſea crowes, and ſea mewes: Alſo they doe eate of beaſtes, which they call Gazelas, and of doues, and other beaſts and birds which they haue in the land: They kéepe alſo dogs as thoſe ben of Portingale, barking after the ſame manner: The Generall thus lyeng at Anker, commaunded to goe rounde about the Ilande, to ſée if there were anie riuer of ſwéete water, and finding none, he then ſent Nicholas Coello in his boate along the coaſt to ſéeke out water, which he found fowre leagues of from thence, the which he named Sancty Ago, from whence the whole Fléete prouided themſelues of freſh water. The next day the Generall and the other Captaines, and ſome of their companie went a ſhore, intending to ſée and view what manner of people they were, that inhabited that countrie or land, and whether they coulde informe him how farre from thence the Cape of Buena Eſperansa was, which he knew not, neither was the head or chiefe Pilot of that voyage of any certeintie which it was, for that in the voyage, wherein hée went before with Bartholome Dyas, he departed in the morning from the Cape into the Sea, and paſt the ſame in the night, with a fore-winde, and at his firſt going, came not nére the Shore: By reaſon whereof he did not know the land, notwithſtanding, hée coniectured and déemed it not aboue thirtie leagues diſtaunt from thence at the vttermoſt: The Generall being diſimbarked and come to land, and walking there he ouertoke a man, one of the inhabitaunts of the ſame, who was going to gather honny at the fote of a buſh, where the Bées made the ſame without anie hiue, with this man, ỹ generall returned vnto his ſhip, right well contented, thinking he had gotten by him an interpreter, but it happened not ſo, for ther

was

was not any of that company could vnderstand him: The Generall commaunded to giue him meate, and he did both eate and drinke of all that was giuen him, and when they saw he vnderstood none of their languages, nor any of them had any vnderstanding of his, he was the next daye set vpon the shore well apparelled, from whence he went as it appeared, amongst others his countrey men, for that y next day then following, (vpon shew of himselfe to them) there came about the number of fifténe of his Countrey men, where our ships were: At sight of which the Captaine generall went to lande, carrieng with him Spice, Golde, and Pearle, to make triall, whether those people had any knowledge of the same, or of any part thereof: but by the lyttle estimation they séemed to make of those things, it appeared they had no knowledge of the same. Then they gaue them bells, little rings of tinne, and counters, and of these things they wer very glad, and from thence forward vnto the next Saterday following, very many of them repayred to our Flóte, and those people so returning to their Townes, one of our men desirous to sée the same, and to viewe the order and manner of their liues, craued then licence of the Generall to goe with them, whose petition, albeit he was verye vnwilling to condescend vnto, yet vanquished by importunitie, he graunted the same. Fernan Veloso (for so was his name that was licensed) then going intheir company, they tooke a Sea Woulfe, which they rosted at the fote of a hill, and supped altogethers: after which it then appeared, that they of that Countrey had armed themselues, and practised treason against our men: for so soone as they had supped, they caused Fernan Veloso, to returne to our Flóte againe, which was hard by, and when he was departed from them, they followed and came after him a little and a little, the manner whereof, Fernan espieng & fearing, he therefore hasted to the water side, and hailed to our ships: The Generall then being at supper, and hearing that call, and looking out to landward, sawe those sauage people comming after him, and presently imagined they meant him harme,

Treason by these men imagined against ours.

and

and therefore forthwith he commaunded the whole Fléte to put themselues in battaile araye, and he himselfe with certaine others, went to landward without anye weapons, deeming verely that those blacke men meant him no harme, nor would offer anye force: and indéede when they sawe our boates comming to the shoreward, they began to runne away, with a great clamour and outcrie, and so did manye others also which lay secretly hidden amongst certeine bushes there, which policie they vsed to traine our men the rather to lande, for when ours were disimbarked and landed, they then returned and furiously set vpon them, shooting their darts, and vsing their other weapons in such sort, as they inforced our men to retire to their boates and imbarke themselues, and that in hast, taking with them Fernan Veloso, which being done, the Negroes returned to their townes, hauing hurt the Captaine generall & three others, who afterward remaining in that road foure dayes, coulde not see any moe of those people, and therefore could not vse any reuenge, for the damage they had done them.

¶ How the Captaine generall doubled the Cape of Buena esperansa, and what hapned vntill they passed the Riuer called El Ryo del Infante. Cap. 3.

THe Fléte hauing taken in fresh water and flesh which they néeded, the Generall and the rest then departed thence vpon the Thursday being the sixtenth daye of Nouember, in the forenoone of the same daye, making their waye into the Sea, with a South southwest winde, and vpon the Saterdaye then next following in the euening, he came within sight of the Cape of Buena esperansa, and for that the winde was contrarye, as being then Southwest, and the Cape lyeng Northeast Southeast, hée made his retourne into the Seawarde, whilest

whilest the daye did indure, and when the night came, he cast about towards the shore, and so in that order he sayled vntill the Wensdaye following, which was the twentith day of November in which time he doubled the Cape: And going along the Coast with a fore winde, he passed with great pleasure of sundry pastimes, and in sounding of the trumpets in all their ships, chiefly hauing their whole confidence in God, by whose diuine furtherance, they hoped to finde out, and attaine to that which they sought for: So passing in this sort along that Coast, they saw vppon the land great store of Cattell, whereof some were large, some small, but all of them were growen and fat: Yowbeit ther appeared to them no Townes within this lande, by reason that along those Coasts ther are none scituated: but further within the same, there be Townes and Villages inhabited, the houses whereof are all of earth couered with straw. The people are of colour somewhat blacke, and be apparailed as those of the Countrey of Sancta Helena, speaking the selfe same language, and vsing the selfe same sorte of darts, with some other weapons also for their defence, and anoyaunce of their enimie. This Countrey is verye pleasaunt with Trees and Waters, and ioyning to this Cape on the South side, there is a great Harbour, which reacheth into the Lande fire leagues, and at the entering it containeth well as much more. The Cape of Buena esperansa being thus doubled, the Captaine Generall forthwith vpon the Sundaye after, which was Saint Katherins day, came to the Watering of Saynt Blaze, which is three score leagues beyonde the Cape, being a verie great Baye, and passing good for all Windes, except onelye the North winde. The people here are somewhat blacke of coulour, they couer themselues with skinnes, they fight with Dartes of wood tosted or hardened in the fire, and vse for Swordes, Hornes and Bones of Beastes, and also they vse Stones to defende themselues agaynst theyr Enimies. In this Lande bee manye Elephauntes and great, also Oxen manye both large of

The watering of S. Blaze

stature,

stature, and very fat, whereof some haue no hornes: and vpon the fattest and fairest of the same, the people do vse to ride, sadling them with pannells stuffed with the strawe of Rye, as the manner is in Spayne, and vpon the same they put a certaine frame of woode, and so vse it as a saddle to ride vppon, putting through the noses of such of them as they will sell, a peece of woode, of that kinde whereof they make their arrowes. In this Harbour three Crossebow shot from the shore, within the Sea, lieth a Rocke, in the which there be many Sea Wolues, which are as large in bignes as great Beares, they be terrible, hauing great and long teeth, also so wilde and fierce, that they do forcible set vpon men: their skinnes be so hard that no speare can pearce the same, albeit it be forced vpon it with great strength and balure: they are like vnto Lions, and their little ones crye like young Goates, there be so many of them in ỹ Rocke, that when our men went thether of pleasure one day, they saw of them at that instant, the number of three thousand little and great. In this Rocke also be many Stares, which are as great as Duckes, but they doe not flye, by reason they haue no feathers in their wings, and they braye lyke vnto an Asse. The Captaine Generall being come to this Port or Baye, and lieng at Anker there, caused the shippes which carried their victualls, to be discharged thereof, and bestowed the same in the others, commaunding those Vessells to be then burned, as it was ordained and commaunded by the King in that behalfe. In doing whereof, & other things also which were necessarye and needfull to be loked vnto, and forseene, for their more safetie in the rest of their voyage, they remained ten dayes in that place, where, vpon the Friday next after the Captaine generall and the rest had arriued, ther appeared vnto them, about the number of foure score and ten men of that Countrey, some along vppon the landes, and some vpon the top of their Mountaines, which when the Generall sawe, he and other the Captaines went to the shore ward, and all the company of the shippes went armed in their boates, carrieng ordinaunce with them, as

Sea vvolfs most fierce & terrible beasts

fearing

fearing the lyke chaunce y happened to them in the Ilande of Sancta Helena, the Boates then drawing nere to the shore, the Generall threw on lande little belles, which the Negroes toke vp, and some of them came so nere vnto him, that he gaue them the bells into their owne handes, whereat he wonderfully meruailed, for that Bartholome Dyas had informed before, that when he was there, they did run away, and wold not be allured to come so nere vnto him. The Generall therfore finding & perceiuing contrary to his expectation, the gentlenesse of those blacke people, he then leapt out on lande with his men, making exchaunge of certaine red night caps with the Negroes for Bracelets of Iuory which they had, and so for that time departed. The Saterday next after came to the number of two hundreth blacke men: and more, some little, some great, bringing with them twelue Oxen and foure sheepe, and as our men went on shore, they began to play vpon foure Flutes accordingly with foure sundry voyces, the Musicke whereof sounded very well, which the Generall hearing, commaunded the trumpets to sound, and so they daunced with our men. In this passime and feasting, and in buying their Oxen and sheepe, that daye passed ouer, and in the selfe same sort, vpon the Sunday following, sundry of the same, and many moe with them as well men as women, came againe bringing with them many Kine, and hauing solde one Oxe, our men saw certaine little Nigroes, which were hidden in certayne bushes, who had with them the weapons of the greater sort of men: wherein our men coniectured, that some treason was ment to them, and therfore the Generall commanded our people to retire to another place, which was of more securitie, and those blacke men went all along the shore directlye against our boates, vntill they came to the place where ours disimbarked themselues, and went vppon the lande in armour. The Nigroes then ioyned themselues as though they intended to fight, which the Generall perceiuing, and not willyng to doe them anye harme, did then retyre, imbarking himselfe, and for to feare them, comman-

ded two braſſe péces of Ordinaunce to be ſhot off, where-
The little Nigroes made more afeard then hurt
at they were amazed, and ranne away without any order, leauing their weapons behinde them. After this, the Captaine generall, cauſed to be carried on the ſhore, a certaine marke or Piller, with the King of Portingales Armes, and a Croſſe, which being there ſet and erected, the Nigroes pulled downe the ſame our men yet being there. Theſe dayes thus paſſed ouer, the Captaine generall with the reſt of the Flæte departed thence towards the Riuer called, Ryo del infante, vpon the Friday being the eight day of Nouember, which was the Feaſt daye of the conception of our Lady, and in ſailing forward on their voyage, ther aroſe ſo great a ſtorme with a forewinde, vpon the daye of Saint Luke, that our whole Flæte did runne with there ſmall ſayles, and that alſo verye low. In this courſe they loſt the company of Nicholas Coello, howbeit the next night after they all met, and ioyned together againe. Now hauing paſt and ſailed through this great ſtorm, or rather torment of wind, which then was ceaſed, the Captaine Generall, vppon the ſixteenth daye of December did diſcouer lande, which were certaine ſmall Rockes, being diſtaunt from the Harbour of Saint Blaze three ſcore leagues, and fiue leagues alſo from the other part of the Rocke called De la cruze, where Bartholome Dyas did erect his laſt marke: from which place to the Riuer Del Infante are fifténe leagues. This Countrey is very pleaſant and ſightly in viewe, and in the ſame is great ſtore of Cattell, and the further our Flæte ſayled on that Coaſt, the better and higher the Trées were, all which things our men might well perceiue and diſcerne, by reaſon they went ſo nére the ſhore with their ſhips. And vpon the Saterday they paſt hard by, and within ſight of the Rocke De la cruze, and for that they were then come ſo far forward as the Riuer Del infante, they were loath to paſſe the ſame, and thereof taking counſell all the next night, they went ſomewhat wide from the Coaſt, with a forewinde, vntill Euenſong time, and then the Winde came to the Eaſt, which was right againſt them, wherefore the

Captaine

Captaine generall made to Seawarde, going in such sort, as sometime he kept the Sea, and sometime droue towards the lande, vntill the Tuesday being the twentith of December, at the setting of the Sunne, the winde then comming to the West, which was a forewinde, and whether to attayne to haue knowledge of the Lande they consulted all that night, which were best to doe. The next daye at tenne of the Clocke in the fore noone, they came to the Rocke aforesayde, which is three score leagues a Reame the place, whereunto they minded to goe.

This Rocke, is the cause of the great Currents that are there, and the selfe same daye the Fléete through passed the same Course, with a great forewinde, which had also indured them three or foure dayes, and wherewith they ranne through those Currents, which greatlye they feared, and were in doubt to haue done. These daungerous Currents, thus safelye and happelye passed without losse or damage, they all were very glad and ioyfull, that they: good Fortune was to haue passed the same in manner as Bartholome Dyas before that time had accordinglye done. Wherefore the Captaine generall, béeing animated and encouraged with this his great good lucke and Fortune, and after thankes giuen to God for the same, did then saye, that hée verelye beléeued, that it was Gods good will and pleasure that the Indias should be founde.

They safe ly passed the dãgerous currents

¶How the Captaine generall came to the Lande, called, La terra de la buena gente, and after went to the Riuer, called, Ryo de las buenas sennales: how hee brought theyr shippes on grounde, and of the great sickneſſe our people had after they arriued there. Chap. 4.

THus following their voyage, they perceiued that vpon Chriſtmas daye, they had diſcouered along the Coaſt, three ſcore and tenne leagues to the Eaſtward, which was the waye he carryed with him in his Regiſter, and wherein the Indias are: And here the Fléete went along vpon the Sea, without taking land, ſo farre, that they began to want, and haue lacke of water for to drinke, and were inforced to diſſolue their meate with ſalt water, ſo that no man of that Fléete had then allowaunce of water to drinke, more then one pinte a day. Howbeit vpon the Friday being the eleuenth day of January, in the yeare of our Lord God. 1498. drawing néere the lande, they went out in their boates along the Coaſt to take view thereof, and ſo paſſing by the ſame, they ſaw many Nigroes with a great company of women, all of them of great ſtature, which went along the Sea ſide, and when the Captain generall ſaw and perceiued, that they ſhowed themſelues to bée a people, flexible to ciuilitie, and of a quiet diſpoſition, hée commaunded one of our men called Martin Alonſo, who coulde ſpeake manye languages of the Nigroes, and one other with him, to leape out on Lande, and to goe to them, which immediatelye thoſe two perſons did: and at theyr comming to the ſame blacke People, they were of them verye well receyued, and eſpeciallye of the chiefe perſon or Gouernour of the ſame, to whome, our generall viewing his and theyr manner of courteſie, forthwith ſent a Jacket, a payre of Hoſe, and a Cappe, báing all redde, and a Bracelet of Copper, of which things he was very glad, and rendered great thankes to the Generall for the ſame, ſaieng: that with a verye good will, hée ſhoulde haue of giſte, anye thing he would deſire or had néede off, that was to be had in his Countrey. All which, Martin Alonſo, vnderſtanding theyr language tolde to the Generall, who was verye ioyfull that

A reward ſent by the Generall to a Nigro.

by

by his interpretation, those people and ours might of each other haue vnderstanding, giuing also at that instant license to ỹ same Alonso & one moe of our men to goe with those people for one night to their Towne, at the request of the same gouernour, who verie earnestly required the same. The gouernour then apparelled himselfe with those Garments which the Generall gaue him, and with great pleasure gaue commaundement to many of his chiefe men to goe before and receiue him when he came to their towne: The people as they went viewed and beheld with greate pleasure and admiration those vestures which our General had giuen him, clapping their hands for ioy thereof, which manner of gladsome reioysing, they vsed thrée or foure times, before they came to their towne: And after their entrauuce therein, they went round about the same, to the end all the people and inhabitants thereof, might sée and behold those giuen garments and straunge arraie: Which béeing done, the gouernour entered into his house where he commaunded Alonso and his companion to be well lodged, and gaue to them for their supper a Hen euen such as ours bée, and Pap made of Mylyo, which is a kinde of graine of a yeolow coulour, whereof also they make bread: This night repaired many Nigroes to their lodging to sée them: And the next daie after the gouernour sent them to their ships with certaine Nigroes of his loden with hens, for the Captaine Generall, who rendered thanks for the same, and required by his interpretour, those Nigroes, to saie vnto their Gouernour, that he now saw and perceiued him to be a noble man, or king of that countrie, & forasmuch as the Generall, and the rest of our men in those fiue daies wherein they had houered vpon and viewed that Coast had no manner damage done or offered them: and saw both many quiet and gentle people there, & also many noble men, he gaue to this land an apt name, calling it, The Land of good people, in the Towne where Martyn Alonso was, theyr houses bée made all of strawe, and verie well furnished within: The women be more in number, then the men:

for in the companie of fortie women there are no more but twentie men: They carrie with them long bowes with arrowes and darts of yron, and vpon their armes and legges they weare many bracelets of Copper, and some peeces of them in their haires. Alſo they carrie daggars, the hafts or handles of Pewter, and the sheathes of Iuorie, ſo that it is manifeſt, that they haue in that Countrie plentie of copper and tinne: Moreouer they haue great store of Salt, which they make of Salt water, carrieng the same from the Sea side in gourds, and putting it into certeine Canes where they make the Salt: Theſe kinde of people were ſo gladde of the linnen that our men carried with them, and brought with them thether, that they gaue for one shirt much Copper. They alſo were ſo quiet amongeſt our men, that they brought them water to their boates from a riuer which was two Croſbowe shotte from the place where our men toke in the same, which riuer they call Ryo de Cobio: From this place our Fleete departed the fiftenth daye of Januarie, and going vnder saile, did diſcouer land of an other countrie which lyeth very lowe, wherein were trees verie high and thicke, and ſo proceeding forward they diſcouered or found a riuer which was verie open at the entering of the same: And for that the Generall thought it neceſſarie to reknowledge or haue notice of that Countrie, & there to learne whether they might heare anye newes or intelligence of the Indias, hee commaunded to come to an Anker, which was vpon the Thurſday, beeing seauen daies before the end of Januarie, and the same night he with his brother Nicholas Coello entered the riuer, and at the dawning of the daye, did well perceiue the lande to bee lowe and couered with water, hauing trees of great height, and thicke loaden with ſundrie ſortes of fruites: Our men then beholding the land, which was verie pleaſaunt, they ſawe alſo certeine boates, at that preſent comming towardes them, with men in the same, whereof the Generall was very glad, ſuppoſing vpon ſight of theſe people and view of their countrie, in that manner, which argued they had some

A newe land diſcouered of curteous Moores

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knowledge and experience of the Sea, that therefore they were not farre of from the Indias, or at leastwise could not then goe far, but they should heare newes of the same: when the people with their boates came nere to our Fléte, our men perceiued they were all blacke people, of good stature, howbeit all naked, sauing their priuie members, which wer couered, with little peces of linnen made of Bombast or Cotten, they came nere and entered into our ships without any feare, and in such sorte vsed themselues towardes our men, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and familiaritie with them: They were very well receiued of our people of the Flét, the Captaine Generall commanded the same, and also that there should be giuen vnto them certeine little Bels & other things, & he talked with them by signes, for they did not vnderstand any of Martin Alonso his languages, nor any other interpretour ỹ our men thē had: After this their good interteinment they departed, and as it seemed well liking of the same, they and many others with them afterward returned in their boates to our ships, bringing vnto them such victuals as their countrie yéldeth: They in appearance shewed themselues verie well contented with our men, & as they came by water, so also did many others of those people repaire thether by land, & amongst them women of indifferent good beautie, especially ỹ young maides, which goe after the same sort, that the men doe: They haue in their lips three holes, and in euery hole a pece of tinne, which they estéme as a thing very gallant and gaye: They toke with them certeine of our men to make merrie at a countrie towne there nére hand, and where they set water for our ships. And after the three daies space that our Generall was in that riuer, there came of curtesie two noble men of that countrie to visit him in their boates, whose apparell was none other, then of the rest, sauing the peces of lynnen wherewith they couered their members, were farre greater, then those the common sorte vsed, and one of them ware vpon his head a tucke or kerchiefe wrought with silke, and the other had a night cap of grene Satten.

Tke curtesie & apparel of the noble mē of this Countrie.

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The Captaine Generall seeing those men somewhat addicted to cleanlinesse was verie glad thereof, receiued them in curteous manner, and commaunded to giue them meate, and moreouer he gaue them apparell and certeine other things, but it appeared by their countinaunces they smallye or nothing at all estéemed thereof: Howbeit while they remained in our Shippes, the Generall perceiued by tokens and signes which a young man that came with them then shewed, that their countrie was farre of thence, and that they had séene as great ships as ours were, whereof he greatly reioyced, and all our people in like manner as then verely hoping and thereby coniecturing, that the Indias were nére to that place: which their hope and coniecture, was also farre the more augmented and confirmed, for that after those noble men were gone to shore, they sent to the Fléete, certeine linnen cloth to sell, which was made of Cotten, vpon which also were certeine marks of Okar, in respect of which good newes, and intelligence héere found, and likely to ensue, the Captaine Generall gaue to this riuer a name, calling it, The Riuer of the good tokens or marks, and caused there a marke to be erected, calling the same San Raphael, according with the name of the shippe wherein hée was, and went that voyage. And forasmuch as he perceiued by the signes of the young man, that those noble men inhabited a Countrie farre thence, and that they had séene shippes as greate as ours, hée thereby and vppon other coniectures gathered, that their Countrie was nére to the Indias, and so consequently that the Indias was farre of from that riuer where our ships then lay: wherefore consulting héereof, it was by him and the other Captaines then determined vpon, that all the shippes should be brought on ground, which determination was executed accordinglye, & the same ships repaired, dressed, and trimmed in all points néedfull and necessarie: In doing whereof they spent and passed ouer two and thirtie daies, in which time our men sustained and passed ouer great troubles and tormentes of minde, by occasion of a sickenesse there happened amongest them,

This sickenes is called the Scurfe

them, which was thought to growe by meanes of the aire of that countrie, for that the hands and feete of so many of them, and also their gums in such sorte did swell, that they could not eate, and the same so rotted, that the stinke which came out of their mouthes was so great and pestiferous, that none could abide the sauour therof, with this pestilent infection & sicknes our men were greatly discomfited, & many of them dyed thereof, which also put the rest of the companie in greate feare and perplexitie of minde: Yea, and further would haue increased and aggrauated their griefes of bodye and sorrowes of minde, were it not that one De Gama a man of good nature and condition had taken speciall care and vsed greate dilligence, for the recouerye of their healths, and putting them in comfort: who continually visited the sicke, and liberally departed vnto them such wholesome and medicinable things, as for his owne bodye hee had prouided, and carried with him, through whose good counsell giuen, great pains taken, and franke distribution of that he had, many of our men were recouerd, which would otherwise haue died, and all the rest thereby were greatly recomforted.

¶ How the Captaine Generall with all his Fleete, came to the Iland of Monsambicke. Chap. 5.

THe Fleet being furnished and prouided of all things necessarie, the Captaine Generall then mindfull of his voyage, departed thence, vpon the Saturday, being the 24. day of Februarie, and the same day, and al the night following, for that he was incalmed and to auoide the shore, made way into the sea: and vpon Sunday by Euensong time, our men discried three Ilands a Seaward, all of them being but little or small, they were distant one from another foure leagues: Two of them were replenished with great woods, & the third was plaine, to arriue to these Ilands the Generall was not willing, for

three smal Ilands discouered not vvorth the entering.

that he ſawe or coniectured no cauſe to occaſion the ſame, & therefore he ſtill kept the ſea, ſtaieng & comming to an ankor alwaies as the night approched, which manner of courſe & order he vſed and continued the ſpace of fiue daies: And vpon the thurſday being the firſt day of March towards euening, our men came within ſight of foure Ilands, whereof two were nære the ſhore, and the other two a Seabord, & for that they would not that night fall with them, they ſtil kept the Sea, minding to paſſe betwæne them, as indæde they did: Whereupon the Captaine Generall determined & commaunded that Nicholas Coello, by reaſon his ſhip was leſſe then the others, ſhuld go firſt, & ſo going vpon the friday within a certein harbour, which was betwæne ỹ maine land & one of the Ilands, the ſaid Nicholas miſſed ỹ channell, and ranne on ground, which daunger when our other ſhips ſawe comming after, they did caſt then about, & went backe, and as they were returned, they perceiued comming out of that Iland, ſeauen or eight little boates vnder ſaile, bæing diſtant from Nicholas Coello a good league: At ſight of thoſe boates comming towards them, Nicholas Coello and thoſe which were with him toke great pleaſure, & for ioye gaue a great crye, and at their repaire to them Coello and they went to the General and ſaluted him, to whom the ſame Coello ſayd: How ſay you ſir, hære is an other kinde of people: whereunto the Generall anſwered, that hæ was very glad of that good Fortune, and therewith commanded to let them go a Seabord with their boates, for that his meaning was to beare with them to that Ilande from whence they came, and there to come to an Ankor, of purpoſe to vnderſtand what land that was, & whether amongeſt thoſe people, he might heare or haue anye newes or certeine intelligence of the Indias: yet notwithſtanding ỹ generals cõmandement, they in their boats followed our ſhips, alwaies making ſignes and calling to our men, therein to ſtay and tarrie for them, wherefore the Captaine Generall, with the other Captaines came to an Ankor, and ſo they in their boates approched nære, and came to our Flæte: And

then

then by view of their persons it appeared they were men of a good stature and somewhat blacke. They were apparelled in linnen cloth of Cotten, welted with sundry colours, some girdeled vnto their knees, and others carried the same vpon their shoulders as cloaks, and vpon their heads they weare a certeine kinde of tucks or kerchiefe somewhat wrought with silke and gold thrid. They haue swords and daggers as the Moores doe vse them, in their boates they brought with them their instruments called Sagbuts. These men being thus come to our ships, they forthwith came a bord the same with great opinion of assurance, euen as though they had knowne our men a long time, and immediatlye began to be conuersant, and very familiar with them, vsing their speaches which they vttered in the language of Algarauia, and would not be knowne they were Moores: The Generall commaunded to giue them meate, & they did both eate and drinke with a good wil, of whatsoeuer was giuen them: And being asked at commaundement of the General by one Fernan Aluares (who could speake y language) what land that was, they answered that it apperteined to a great king which was before, & how that Iland was called Mō-sambicke, and the towne there full of Merchantes, which haue traficke with the Moores of the Indias, who bring thether siluer, linnen cloth, pepper, ginger, siluer ringes, many pearles, and rubie stones, and that out of another Countrie, which remained behinde, they doe bring them golde: Declaring further that if our men would enter into the Harbour there, they would bring them thether, and they shuld perceiue and see the truth, and more at large, touching those thinges they then gaue information of: The Generall hearing this, entered into counsell with the other Captaines, debating the matter thereof, and argued whether it were good to enter the Harbour, and see if those things were of truth, which those Moores had imparted to them, and also there to take some Pilottes to carrye them further, since they were nowe destitute of such: Vppon which consultation, it was there determined,

The Iland of Monsā bick, with the towne of Merchandise.

that Nicholas Coello ſhuld firſt make an aſſay & proofe for enterance and ſounding of the barre, by reaſon his ſhip was the leaſt of the Fléete: which accordingly he forthwith did. And ſo going to enter he went and touched the point of the Iland, and therewith brake his helme, howbeit through God his goodneſſe, he periſhed not there although he was in great daunger and hazard thereof, for as he went vpon the point vnwares, ſo with quicke ſpéede and good fortune he gote of the ſame: Neuertheleſſe he perceiued and found ỹ the barre was good to enter, and therfore he came to an anker, two crolbow ſhot from the towne ſcituated in that Iland, which is in fifteene degrées towards ỹ South, it hath a very good harbour, and alſo great plentie of the victuals of that countrie, the houſes of that towne be made of ſtrawe, and the dwellers therein are Moores, which trade to Sofala in great ſhips, that haue no decks nor nailes, but are ſowed with Cayro, and their ſailes are of mats made of the leafe of a palme trée: ſome of them doe carrie with them compaſſes of Geane by which they doe gouerne, & they be ſquare, they haue alſo Seacards: with theſe Moores, the Moores of Indias haue traficke, and with thoſe from the red ſea, by reaſon of the golde they haue there.

Cayro is the caske or rind of a nut they haue in ỹ India called Caco, and vvith the ſame theſe ropes are made

When they ſawe our men, they ſuppoſed them to bée Turks, by reaſon of the knowledge they had of the Turks countrie, through intelligence of the Moores which dwel in the red ſea, they which were firſt in our ſhips went & tolde their Xeque (for ſo they call him alwaies that is gouernour of the towne) which was there for the king of Quiloa, vnder whoſe obeiſance this Iland was.

¶ How the Captaine Generall entered into the harbour of Monſambicke, and how the gouernour there, came to viſit him at his ſhips, making peace with him, and gaue him two Pilottes to carry him to Calicut, verely ſuppoſing our people to be Turkes.

Chap. 6.

The Xeque or Gouernor hauing knowledge of our comming, and that Nicholas Coello was come to an Anker in the Harbour, he verelye beléeued that they were Turkes or Mores of some other place, and therfore forthwith he came and visited him in his ships, accompanied with many apparelled in silke, whome Nicholas Coello receiued with great courtesie: but forasmuch as he nor any of his ship could speake their language, the Gouernour tarried not long, howbeit Coello vnderstoode very well, that the Gouernour deemed them to bee Mores, and therefore he gaue him a red Cappe, whereof hee made no accompt, he gaue him allso certaine blacke beades, which he carried away in his handes, both which were giuen and taken for token of assurance betweene them: and when he should depart from our ship, he required by signes of Nicholas Coello to haue his boat to carrie him to lande, who gladly graunted the same, and sent therewith certaine of our men, which the Gouernour at his returne to lande, carried with him to his house, feasting and banketting them with Dates and other things, and sent by them to Nicholas Coello: a pot of Dates preserued, wherewith he feasted the Captaine Generall and his brother, after they had entered the Harbour.

Our men taken for Turks, by the Mores of Monsambicke

The Gouernour now perceiuing the rest of our shippes arriued in the Harbour, immediately sent to visite them, beléeuing they were Turkes, and presented them with many pleasant & delicate meates, demaunding allso license to come and visite them himselfe. The Captaine generall returned for presents to him againe, certaine red hats, short gownes, corrall, basons of brasse, little hawkes bells, and many other things, all which (as the messenger reported, that carryed the same) he nothing esteemed, asking for what purpose those things were good, and demaunding why the Captaine sent him not Scarlet, as the thing which he chiefly desired. Notwithstanding he came and visited the Captaine Generall who hauing knowledge of his comming, commaunded the

ſhips to put out their flagges, and to toll the ſame. Likewiſe he ordered, that all our ſicke and diſeaſed men, ſhoulde be hid and not come in ſight, and that to his ſhippe ſhoulde be ſent from the reſt of the ſhippes, all thoſe that were not ſicke, whom he cauſed ſecretly to be put in armour, of purpoſe to be in a readines if the Moores offered anye force, or ſought to betraye them. This preperation made, the Gouernour cõmeth aboord, & the diſcriptiõ of his perſon and attire

The Gouernour cõ uernour came accompanied with manie men, all very well apparelled in ſilke, bringing with them many trumpets of Iuorie, and alſo other inſtruments, ſtill plaieng vppon the ſame: he was a man of a good ſtature and leane, he brought vpon him as it were a ſhirt of linnen cloath, which came downe to his heeles, and vpon the ſame, the lyke of veluet of Meca, hauing vpon his head a cappe of ſilke of many colours, and trimmed with golde, at his girdle, he ware a ſworde and dagger, and vpon his feete ſhoes of ſilke. The Captaine generall receiued him at the entrance of the ſhip, carrieng him from thence, in that part of the ſhip, where the ſame was couered ouer and trimmed in the beſt manner it might then be, and many of his people with him, the reſt remaining that came with him in their boates. The Gouernour thus being receiued into the ſhip, the Generall deſired him to take no offence in that he ſent to him no Scarlet, ſince in truth he brought none with him: onely he declared that he had in his ſhips, but ſuch Merchaundiſe, as he would giue and beſtow for victualls, when his men ſhould want the ſame: and that he went in this order, only of intent to find out & diſcouer the Indias, by commandement of a great & mightie King whoſe ſeruaunt he was. All which things the Generall tolde him by the mouth of Fernan Martin, who was the Interpretour betweene them: and then commaunded to giue them ſuch banketting meates, and wine as were carried in the ſhippe, whereof he did both eate and drinke verye well, and ſo in lyke manner did the other, who came with him, all which were likewiſe feaſted.

And as the Gouernour remayned after this, a very friend to the Generall, ſo alſo did his people make much, and extende

tende great frindship to our men. He asked of our Generall, whether they came from the Turkes Countrey, for that as he had heard saye, the people of the same are white as ours were, requesting also to haue a sight of their Countrey bowes, and of the bookes of theyr Lawes: Whereunto our Generall aunswered, that hée and his Companye were not of the Turkes Countrey, but that they were of a great Kingdome, which confined vppon the same, and as touching theyr bowes and weaponnes, hée shoulde with verye good will sée them: But as for the Bookes of theyr Lawes, they had none there with them, for to carrye the same, were to no purpose, since vppon the Sea, they néded not the vse thereof. Then were brought before him certaine Crossebowes, which also in his presence were bent and shot off, whereat hée greatly meruayled. They also produced to sight and viewe of him certaine harnesses or armours, whereat he also meruailed much.

By occasion of this méeting and feasting, the Captaine Generall had notice and intellygence, that from thence to Calycut were nine hundred leagues, and that it was verye néedefull and necessarye for him to take a Pilot of this Countrey, to conduct him and his Companye, by reason they shoulde finde manye shoells in theyr Course thether: and also that along the Coast there are manye Cities: Moreouer hée vnderstode then, that Presbiter Ioan was farre from thence within the Countrey. Now since it was so expedient to haue a Pilot, the Generall then requested to haue two such of the Gouernour, who graunted and made promise of the same, vppon condition that our men shoulde well vse and content them: Of these Pilots so promised, our men were glad, for that if one of them shoulde happe to dye, the other yet might remayne and serue theyr purpose, and for that consideration, our Generall required a couple. After this time, the Gouernour once more came to visit the Generall, bringing with him both the Pilottes he had made promise of,

to each of which was giuen thirtie Crownes and a coate, euery Crowne worth in money, fiue shillings, with this condition, and from that day forward, that when the one of them would goe to shore, the other should remaine in ship, for that our men would allwaies haue one of them on shipboord, whilest they remained in Harbour.

¶ How the Gouernour of Monsambicke, vnderstanding that our Fleete was neither of the Turkes nor yet Moores, would haue taken and killed them, and how the Captaine generall vnderstood thereof: and what further than followed. Cap. 7.

THese meetings and speaches thus had, for assuraunce of friendship betweene them, & the concourse of them being ended, and the Gouernour departed, yet then immediately after appeared, that those Moores hauing had such company and long talke with our men had gathered and come to knowledge that they were Christians, whereupon all former good will and friendship of the Moores, was now conuerted into wrath and furie, for they practised meanes to kill our men, and so to take the ships. The Gouernour had thereof consulted and made prouision, for execution of their mischeuous enterprise, which had bene likely to haue taken place, and forted to a sorrowfull hap and euent, had not the Almightie of his diuine goodnesse, moued the heart of one of the Moores, which was receiued for Pilot to discouer the same to the Captaine generall, who fearing least those Infidells should sodainlye indaunger him and his, for that they were manie in number, and with him were but a small companye, did therefore determine to remaine no longer in that harbour. And so vpon the Saterday, being the tenth daye of March, & seuen dayes after his arriuall there, he departed thence, and went with his ships into the Sea, and came to an Ankor harde by an

The Moores withdraw ther good wils knowing that we were Christians

Ilande

Ilande in the same, which was one leagues from that of Monsambicke, and this was done, to purpose, that vppon Sunday, they would heare Masse on lande, confesse themselues, and receiue the Sacrament, which since their comming from Lixborne they had not done. After our shippes wer thus at an Anker, the Captain general then perceiuing the same to be in place of assurance so as the Moores should not burne them, (whereof before he was greatly afrayde) which now by their remoue was preuented and put out of doubt, he then determined to retourne to Monsambicke in his boate, to demaund the other Pilot that remayned on lande at their comming thence: and so leauing his brother with the Fleete in order and readineste to come and succour him, if he should see him in daunger, he departed towardes Monsambicke carrieng with him Nicholas Coello in his boate and the other Pilot Moore. Going in this sort, they saw how there came bearing right with his boate, fiue boates with many armed Moores, hauing long bowes & arrowes, and also shieldes and speares, who when they sawe our men, beganne then to call vnto them, willing them to come to the harbour of their Towne. The Pilot Moore tolde the Generall what they meant by their signes and tokens they made, and gaue him counsell to retourne thether, for that otherwise the Gouernour woulde not delyuer the other Pilot which remained on the shore, at which his speach, the General was very angry, supposing he gaue that counsell, to the ende at their comming nere the shore, hee might escape and runne away, and therefore commaunded him to prison, and caused forthwith to shote at theyr boats with their Ordinaunce, which shot when Paulo de la Gama heard, and beleeuing it had bene some further matter of daungers to the General, then the cause thereof was indeed, he immediately came forwarde with the ship called Berrio vnder saile, which when the Nigroes perceiued, they fled, & made away with great hast, and so fast that the Captaine generall could not ouertake them, & therfore he returned with his brother to the other ships where they lay at Ankor.

The next day the Generall, with all his men went on land, heard Maſſe, and receiued the Sacrament very deuoutlye, being the night before confeſſed: which being done, they all went aboord their ſhips, and made ſayle the ſame day. The Generall perceiuing no hope to remaine for recouerie of the other Pilot, which was on ſhore in Monſambicke, gaue then commaundement to releaſe him that was in the ſhip committed to priſon, (as before you haue heard, whome they carried with thē on their voyage. This Pilot minded to be reuenged vpon ȳ Generall, in ſtomacke of his impriſonment, determined to cary thē to ȳ Iland Quiloa, which was peopled all with Moores, and as it ſeemed, meant to informe the King of that place, that our ſhippes were of the Chriſtians, of purpoſe thereby to occaſion him to kill and deſtroy them all: and therefore ſubtillie to ſhadowe his wicked intent, he willed and perſwaded the Captaine generall, not to trouble himſelfe with the want of the other Pilot, for that he would carrie him to a great Iland, which was from thence one hundreth leagues, and inhabited as it were the one halfe by the Moores, and the other by Chriſtians, which alwaies were at wars the one with the other, from whence alſo he might furniſh himſelfe with Pilots to carry him to Calycut: But as the Captaine generall had good liking of thoſe ſpeaches, ſo yet gaue he no great credite to the man, neuerthleſſe he did promiſe him great giftes, if he did carrie him to that Countrey: and ſo went forward on his voyage with a ſmall winde. The Tueſdaye after, being within ſight of lande from whence he departed, he was incalmed, which did indure Tueſdaye and Wenſdaye, the next night after with an Eaſterly wind being but ſmal, he made way, and went into the Sea, and vpon Thurſday in the morning, founde himſelfe and all the Fleete, foure leagues backe behinde Monſambicke, & ſo going vntill the Euening the ſame day, came then to an Anker hard to that Iland, where the Sunday next following he heard Maſſe. The winde thus being contrary to his purpoſe of Nauigation, he therefore remained in that place eight daies to wait

The other Moore Pilot in reuēge practiſeth treaſō againſt the fleete

for

for such gale thereof as would serue to put him forward on his iourney: In which time repaired to our ships a white Moze which was a Minister of the Mozes of Monsambicke, who comming on bord the ship of the Generall, declared that the Gouernour of the same Towne greatlye did repent him of the breach of peace & friendship he had made with him, & that he would gladly renew the same againe & confirme it, & so remaine a friend. To whom the Generall returned aunswere by that messenger to this effect, that he would make no peace with the Gouernour, neither would he be his friend, vntill such time as he did send to him his Pilot whom he had hired and payed, with this aunswere, the Minister departed, and neuer came againe. The Captaine generall thus staieng still there, and expecting the winde, there came to him after the Minister was gone, a certaine Moze, who brought his Sonne with him being a boye, and asked the Generall whether he would carrye them in his ships with him to the Citie of Mylynde, which he should finde in the course he shoulde kéepe towards Calycut: Declaring that he would gladly goe with him, and returne to his Countrey which was néere to Meca, from whence he came as a Pilot, in a ship to Monsambicke, and therewith aduertised the Generall, not to tarry vppon any aunswere, from the Gouernour, who he was assured would make no peace with him, for that he was a Christian.

A white Moore repaireth to our ships.

The Captaine was verye gladde of the comming of this Moze, for by him hée déemed, to gather sufficient matter of information and intelligence of the Strayghtes of the Redde Sea, and also of the Townes that lye and be situated along the Coast, by the which he must sayle to Mylynde, and therefore he commaunded to receyue the same Moze and his Sonne into his Shippe, and by reason it was then somewhat late, and that they had no store of water, the Generall with the other Captaines determined to enter into the Harbour of Monsambicke, to take in there so much as they néeded, appointing also there shoulde be great watch, for

preuention of the Moores, leaſt that they ſhould by anye deuice ſet on fire the ſhips. Vpon this determination and being prepared accordingly, they proceeded and entered the harbour on thurſday, and when the night was come, they launched out their boates to go with them for water, for the Pilot of Monſambicke informed the Generall, that it was within the firme lande, offering to bring him to the ſame. Whereupon taking the Pilot with him, he departed about midnight to goe thether, hauing Nicholas Coello in his cõpany, and leauing Paulo de la gama in charge of the ſhips. Being come to the place where the Pilot informed the water to be, it could not ſo be found, for he no doubt, went more to make eſcape and runne awaye, then to perfourme what before he promiſed, but whether that he was amazed with imagination of eſcape, and ſo could not finde it, or that of malice (ſince he could not run away) he would not finde it, he cauſed them to ſpend that night without attaining the purpoſe of their repaire thether, wherefore the day light appearing, and ſeing they could not finde the water, the Generall would remaine no longer, hauing but a ſmall company of men with him ther, and fearing leaſt the Moores wold ſet vpon him, did therefore determine to goe to his ſhips, of purpoſe to fetch more men, and ſo if néd were to fight with his enimies, knowing alſo he ſhould farre better finde the water by day then by night. So hauing bene at his ſhips, and there furniſhed his boates with more force of men and armour, he retourned to ſhore ward againe, carrieng with him the Pilot of Monſambicke, and hauing alſo Nicholas Coello in his companye as before to take in water. And when they drew néere to the ſame, the Pilot ſeing that hé by no meane or deuice coulde runne awaye, did then forthwith ſhew them the water, which was harde by the ſhore ſide, where alſo then were in ſight the number of twentie Moores ſkirmiſhing with their dartes, and ſhowing as though they were appointed there for the purpoſe and wold defende the water againſt ſuch as would enterprice to fetch or take any thereof.

The

The manner whereof when our Generall sawe, he caused to be shot off, thre gunnes to force them to auoide & giue place in that grounde, so as our men might leape forth of their boates and land without resistance: The Moores amazed & affrighted with cracke and shot of ỹ Ordinance, ran away and hid themselues in certein bushes, and so our men quietly landed and toke in fresh water, and a little before ỹ sunne set arriued at their ships, where they found the companie there disquieted in minde, for that a Nigroe of Iohn Cambrayes, Pilot to Paulo de la Gama, was that day run away to the Moores, wherof when the General vnderstood, he was very sad and sorrowfull for the same, since he was a Christian: Vppon the griefe and sorrow hereof he remained there Fridaie following: Vpon the Saturday, being the xviii. daye of March, and the euen of the Annunciation of our Lady, early in the morning appeared vpon the shore side a Moore right ouer against the Flote, who cried out with a lowde and shrill voice, saieng, that if our men wold haue water, they should nowe come for the same thether, where they should finde such as would inforce them to returne. The Captaine Generall perceiuing how small account they made of him, remembring also the iniury done him in not deliuering the Pilot, and therwith hauing fresh in memorie the losse and running away of the Nigroe, his Pilots seruant, did thereupon grow into some choler, and so determined to shote of the ordinaunce of his ships, into the towne of his enimies, thereby to be reuenged vpon the same for the iniuries done him, by the inhabitants thereof, and this his determination, he imparted to his Captaines, who hauing liking of the same, yelded therevnto, and immediatly imbarked themselues in their boates, arming the same with such men as they had, and so comming before the towne, and against the same, there were Moores along the shore, which had made a pale of bords so thicke, that our men could not perceiue who was behinde the same. And betweene that pale or defence and the sea, vppon the shore there was one hundreth Moores, armed with Targets,

The Moores runne away at the cracke of the ordinaunce

ſhields, darts, bowes, arrowes, & ſlings, who ſo ſoone as our boates came within compaſſe or reatch of their ſlings, began to ſend forth of the ſame ſtones at our men, who immediatly anſwered them again with ſhot of Ordinance, through meanes whereof they left the waters ſide, retiring within their impaled defence, which was preſently after beaten downe with our ordenance, & the enimies running to their towne, left behinde them two of their companie ſlaine in that place: the defence thus broken downe, and the ſame all carried away, the Captaine Generall with his men returned to dinner, in which time it was ſtraunge to ſee howe the Moores ran awaie by land from that towne to another, with ẏ feare they had of our men, and from thence they went by water to another place, which was on the other ſide. After dinner our men went with their Captains to ſee whether they could take any Moores, verely beleeuing that by taking of ſome, they ſhuld for the ſame haue reſtitution of Cambraies Nigro that was runne away as you haue heard before: And moreouer they thought to recouer two Indians which the Pilot Moore tolde the General were captiues in Monſambicke. In this iourney onely Paulo de la Gama did take foure Moores in a boate. And although ther were other boats wherin many Moores were, yet could not they be taken, for making haſt to the ſhore, & atteining the ſame, they ran away, leauing their boats as a pray to our men, who found in ẏ ſame much linnen cloth made of cotten, & alſo bookes of their lawes of Mahoma, which the Generall commanded to bee ſafely kept: And albeit he went that day along and before the town in his boate, as other his Captaines did in like manner in theirs, yet could not they procure anie talke or ſpeach with anye of the Moores of the towne, and to goe on ſhoare he durſt not, for that he had but few men in number with him, wherefore for that time hee departed thence: and the next day retourned to ſhoare to take in water, which without anye reſiſtaunce was done. Nowe beeing without all hope to recouer the Nigro and the two Indians, the generall then determined to depart without them, howbeit before his departure, he ment to viſit the town of Monſambick, & the dwellers therein, with ſome ſufficient reuenge, by ſending to the ſame ſuch meſſengers, as thereby they might deeme him their mortall enimy, through the offence they had giuen him, wherefore vpon the munday following hee went before the towne of the Moores with his Ordinaunce, and ſhooting into the ſame, deſtroied it in ſuch ſorte as the people thereof were inforced to abandon the ſame, and flye into an Iſlande within the country. And ſo vpon the Tewſday being the xxvii. daie of March, our Fleet waied Ankor & departed from the Towne of Monſambicke, & ſo in going forwarde came to an Ankor hard by two little rocks of Saint George, for ſo they named it after they came thether, where they remained, for that the winde

the tovvn of Monſambick batte red from the Fleete

winde was contrarie to their purpose: Neuertheleſſe hauing, after a ſmall winde they departed, howbeit the ſame was ſo ſmall, and the currents there ſo great that they were caſt backward.

How the Captaine Generall after his departure from Monſambicke, went towards the citie of Quiola, how hee loſt himſelfe going to the Iland of Mombaſſa, & how the ſhip called S. Raphael ſtroke vpon the Flats, the which now haue the ſame name. Cap. 8.

THe Captaine Generall following his voiage, and being very glad, that they had found, that one of the foure Moores which Paulo de la Gama toke in the boate was a Pilot, & could carry them to Calicut, vpon the Sunday being the firſt daye of Aprill, came to certeine Ilands which were very neere to the ſhore, to the firſt whereof they gaue a name, calling it the Iland of the Aſotado, which they ſo named, for that they there did whippe the Pilot Moore of Monſambicke, by commaundement of the Generall, as well for that he had told them thoſe Ilands were firme land, as alſo before that he would not ſhew the Generall the water at Monſambick in the night when they ſought for the ſame as before is declared: and therfore now taking him with the lie, as informed of thoſe Ilands, & Generall was very angrie with this Pilot, ſuppoſing as it was likly, that he did carrie them thether, of intent the ſhips ſhould be caſt away amongſt the ſame: The Moore being cruellye whipped confeſſed ẏ indeed he did cary & train them thether of purpoſe they ſhuld there haue periſhed, and bene caſt vpon the daungers and rockes of the Ilands: Theſe Ilands were ſo manye and ſo neere together ſcituated, that they coulde hardlye bee diſcerned one from another, which when the Generall perceiued, he made into the Seaward, and vpon the Fridaye which was the fourth daye of Aprill, made his way to the Northweſt, & before the noone tide of the ſame, had ſight of a great land, and of two Ilandes neere to the ſame, about which, were many ſhoels: now being come nere to ẏ ſhore, ẏ pilots Moores did reknowledge ẏ ſame, howbeit they ſaid ẏ the Iland of the chriſtians is that of Quiloa, which was behind or a ſterne vs 3. leagues, wherwith the generall was much grieued, beleeuing ẏ certeinly they were Chriſtians as the Pilots had informed him, and that they had willingly loſt their courſe, for that the ſhippes ſhould not arriue at that place. The Pilottes ſhaddowing their treaſon made ſhew of a

The Iland of aſotado & vvhy ſo called

reaſonable excuſe, saieng, that as the winde was greate, ſo were the currents ſwift, by reaſon whereof the ſhippes had further made saile then they thought for: But the truth was indéede, that they more forrowed their milling and paſſing by the Iland where they informed to be Chriſtians, then did our Captaine Generall: For they were verely in hope to haue ben reuenged ther, vpon our men by death of them all: But GOD beholding the daunger and perill meant towards them, of his diuine goodneſſe and mercye deliuered them from the ſame, and that by a great miracle: For if our men had gone thether, not one of them had eſcaped with lyfe, ſince the Generall hauing ſuch a beliefe & opinion, that there were Chriſtians in that Iland (as the Pilot had tolde him) would no doubt haue gone preſently on land at his arriuall there, and ſo thereby runne headlong into a place where he and his people ſhould haue bene put to ſlaughter: The Generall thus forrowing the miſſe of that Iland, for that he ſuppoſed there to haue found Chriſtians, and the Pilots Moores in chaſe with themſelues for that they had miſſed their courſe thether for purpoſe afore ſaid, it was then on each part determined, to goe back and aſſaie to finde the ſame: neuertheleſſe although they earneſtly bent themſelues to attaine vnto that deſired Iland, and ſpent that daye in trauell to winne their purpoſe therein, yet coulde they not preuaile thereto: For ſtill the winde was ſo contrarie, and the currents ſo great, as doe what they could, they failed of their wills, and were put off from arriuall there, which no doubte was done by Gods prouidence, and of his méere fauour and goodneſſe towards our men: as not willing they ſhould receiue anie daunger, or ſuffeine crueltie, or loſſe of lyfe, amongeſt thoſe Infidels, and therefore miraculouſly he preſerued our people from the effect and ſequele of the malice of thoſe two Pilots of the Moores of Monſambicke, which had imagined in their mindes, and trauailed to bring to finall and execution their diuelliſh intent: The Captaine generall and the other Captaines thus toſſing vp and downe, to and fro, as well with their ſhips, as alſo in their

mindes

mindes, determined to beare towards the Ilande of Mombassa, in which as those two Pilots gaue information, were two Townes, peopled and inhabited as well with Moores as Christians: (which instructions these Pilots gaue, to the intent to deceiue our men, and to traine them thether, of purpose there to kill them, for that in deede that Ilande was altogether and wholly inhabited by Moores, as in lyke manner all that Coaste is,) and therefore vnderstanding that from thence to Mombassa are seauentie seauen leagues, they made way to goe thether, and being then towards Euening, they sawe a great Ilande situated towards the North, in which the Moores Pilots sayde there were two Townes, one of Christians, and the other of Moores, as aforesayd. Thus they sayd and inuented to the intent to bring our men in opinion, and make them beleeue that there were in that Land, and those Coasts many Christians. In this sort our ships going vnder saile, certayne dayes, the ship called Saint Raphael by fortune one morning two houres before daye light, came on ground vppon certaine shoells, two leagues from the firme lande, and as she strake on ground, they within made signes to the other ships to take heede and beware, whereupon they shot by the shoells and came to an Anker, launching out their boats to giue succour to Paulo de la Gama Captaine in the Raphael, and perceiuing when they came to the same, that the water did ebbe, the Generall was meruailous glad thereof, for then he well knew, that at the nert flood the ship would be afloate againe, so that now he lost the feare and icalousie he had conceiued, vpon the doubt he had that she was lost. Thus recomforted with the certaintie they saw of ỹ safetie of the ship, they forthwith layed into the sea many ankers. By this time it was daye lyght, and after that it was a lowe water, she then remained drye vpon the shore being a Sandie ground, which was the cause she toke no harme, by striking vpon the same. Our men placed their Ankers which were layd forth right ouer against themselues, and walked vpon the Sandes whilest the Ebbe endured.

Another deuise of the Mores to destroy our men vvithall

So ſaieng for the ſloud, and beholding and viewing that Ilande, ſo farre as they coulde ſee, they gaue for name to thoſe Sandes, the Shoells of Saint Raphael, in reſpect of the name, the ſhippe there ſo hazarded did beare. And to certayne great Ilandes and Hilles which were within the firme Land, directly ouer againſt thoſe ſhoells or ſands, they gaue the name of The Hills and Ilandes of Saint Raphael, vpon the ſame conſideration.

The shoels of S. Raphael.

The ſhippe thus being dreye, our men ſawe two boates, and Moores of that Countrey in the ſame comming towards them, to ſee our ſhippes, bringing manie ſweete Orenges, farre better then thoſe of Portingale, and gaue the ſame to our men, ſaieng alſo to the Generall, that in no wiſe hee ſhould feare anye damage that coulde enſue to the ſhippe on grounde, for that when it were full Sea, ſhe woulde then be on floate agayne, ſo as at will and pleaſure the ſame might paſſe on the intended voyage thereof, with which ſpeaches the Generall was very glad not onelye for the good comfort they gaue him, but alſo in that they came in ſo good ſeaſon and time opportune, and therefore he gaue them certayne giftes, which they accepted with manye thankes, and certayne of them vnderſtanding that our Fléete intended their Courſe to Mombaſſa, they deſired the Generall to carry them with him thether, who graunted their requeſts, permitted them to abide and remayne with him, the others returning from our Fléete to their Countrey. And when it was a full Sea, the ſhippe before on ground was afloat, and ſo came off from the Sandes, whereupon the Captaine generall returned, and proceeded on his way, with all his Fléete.

¶ The

¶ The description of the Iland and Citie of Mombassa, and how the Captaine generall arriued there, and what was the sequell that hapned him after he came thether. Chap. 9.

THe Generall following this voyage, did vpon the Saterday being the seauenth day of Aprill, about the going downe of the Sunne the same daye come to an Ankor without the Barre of the Iland of Mombassa, which is harde by the firme lande, and is verye plentie of victualls, that is to saye, Millyo, Rice, and Cattell, as well great as lyttle, but all well growen and fat, chiefly their sheepe, which be all without tayles. Also they haue manye Hennes: Moreouer, the Iande is verye pleasaunt, hauing many Orchards, wherein are planted and are growing, great store of hearbes, & many sorts of fruites: that is to saye, Pomegranets, Figges of the Indias, Orenges both sweete and sower, Lymons, and Cidrons, and in the same are manye excellent good waters. In this Iande there is a Citie, bearing the selfe same name of the Iande, being in foure degrees on the South side, it is a verye great Citie, placed and scituated vppon an Hill, which also is a Rocke, where vpon the Sea doth beate, so that it cannot bee vndermined.

At the entering into the Portes or Hauen there is a Marke: and at the enteraunce vppon the Barre, there is planted or builded a lyttle Fort, lowe and neere to the water. The most parte of the houses in this Citie, are builded with lyme and stone, with the loftes thereof wrought with fine knottes of Plaister of Paris, the stretes therein are verye fayre. They haue a King of themselues, and the dwellers or inhabitaunts of the same are Moores, whereof some bee white, and some browne of coulour, both men and women: it appeareth they are good men on horseback.

They goe gallantly arayed, eſpecially the women, which go apparelled in gownes of ſilke, and be decked and garniſhed with Jewells of golde and precious ſtones. In this Citie is great trade of all kindes of Marchandize. There is alſo a good Harbour, where alwayes are manye ſhippes lieng at Road, and from the firme land commeth thether great plentie of Honnie, Waxe and Iuorie, the Captaine Generall thus come to the Barre of this Citie, did not then enter forthwith, for that it was almoſt night when he came to an Anker. But he commaunded to put forth the flagges, and to toll their ſhippes, reioycing and making great mirth, for that their good fortune, and hope they conceyued, that in that Iſlande there dwelled manye Chriſtians, and that the next daye they ſhould heare Maſſe on the ſhore. Moreouer they were greatly comforted, as hauing ſuch confidence, that in this place they might and woulde cure and heale all ſuch as were then ſicke amongeſt them, as in truth were, almoſt all that were there preſent, albeit in number but fewe, for all the others were dead. Yet ſuch as remayned and had eſcaped the ſickneſſe and diſeaſes paſt, and were not dead of the great infirmities and troubles before in this voyage chaunced vnto them. Being thus at an Anker, and the night almoſt approched, our men ſaw about an hundred men in a great Barcke, euery one of them hauing a Sworde and a Target, who at their comming to our ſhippes, woulde haue entered therein with all their weapons: howbeit the Generall would not conſent thereto, neither permitted he anye more to enter then foure of them, and thoſe alſo without weapon, declaring to them in their language that they ſhoulde pardon him ſince he was a ſtraunger, and therefore coulde not tell whom he might truſt, and vnto thoſe whom he gaue licenſe to enter aborde his ſhip, he gaue good and gentle entertainment, banketting the ſame with ſuch Conſerues as they had, (whereof thoſe Moores did well eate) willing them not to deeme euill of him, for his denyall of their enteraunce in manner aforeſayde, where-vnto they anſwered, that their comming

Certaine of the inhabitants of this city came aboorde the ſhip.

comming then was to see him as a rare and new thing in that their countrie, and that he shoulde not meruaile to see them bring theyr weapons, since it was the custome & vse of the same to carrie them as well in peace as in the time of warre: also they further declared vnto the generall, that the king of Mombassa did vnderstand of his comming, and for that it was so nere night, he had not then sent to visit him, howbeit the next day he would, and that as he was glad of his arriuall there, so also would he be more glad to see him, yea, and to giue him spices to load his ships, furthermore, they informed him that there were many Christians, which liued by themselues in that Iland: whereupon the General was not onely ioyfull, but also fullye perswaded that their report thereof was true and vnfeined, since the same was agreeable, and accorded with the information and talke of the two Pilottes, neuertheless he carried some sparke of icalousie in his head, and for all their faire speaches and figured talke, he wisely imagined ỹ those Moores, came to see whether they might, by anie traine take one of our ships, wherein he gessed vpon the truth, for certeinly their comming then was onely for that purpose, as afterward it was made apparant. For most true it was ỹ the king of Mombassa did know and had perfect intelligence that we were Christians, and also what we had done in Monsambicke, & therefore he practised meanes to be reuenged of vs, by taking our ships and killing of vs, wherefore prosecuting his wicked intent therein, the nert daie following, which was Palme sundaie, he sent to our Generall certeine white Moores, which declared to him ỹ their king was very glad of his comming thether, and that if he wold come into his harbour, he would liberally giue him all things he stode in nede off, and for assurance of the same he sent him a ring, a sheepe, and many sweete Orenges, Citrons, and Sugar canes, giuing also those Moores instructions to tell him further, that they were Christians, and that in the Iland were many christened people: All which they did in such sorte counterfaite, and with so great and deepe dissimulation, that

Svvete practises of sowre treason.

our men thought verely they were Christians: wherefore the Generall receiued them very well, and gaue them certeine giftes, sending to the King greate thankes for his gentle and liberall offer, saieng further, that the next day he woulde come nerer in: He sent also to the King a braunch of Coxall verye fine, and for more assuraunce to confirme the same, he sent with those Moores two of our men, which were banished persons, and were carried of purpose to bee aduentured in such like respect of daunger, or to be lefte and putte on shore in such places, where it shoulde be thought good to vnderstande somewhat, and then to returne and be taken in againe, when our men and the two Moores were gone: and come to the shore, there met them a multitude of people to see them, all which went with them and viewed them, euen to the kings Pallace, where our men beeing entered, they passed through three doores before they came where the king was, at each of which there was a Porter attending, hauing euerye one of them a sworde in his hand. They found the King but in small estate, neuertheless he receiued them verye well, and commaunded that in the selfe same companie of the Moores with whome they came, they should be shewed the Citie, and carried about the same in going and viewing whereof, they sawe in the streetes many men Prisoners: in prisons, but because our men vnderstoode not their language, nor they had any vnderstanding of ours, there was no question demaunded by our two messengers, what Prisoners those were, howbeit they beleeued the same to bee Christians, for that our Generall was informed by the two Pilottes, and the Kinges messengers, (as you haue before heard) that there were in that Ilande such Christians, which also had warres with the Moores.

Merchats of the Indias vvhich are Christians

Moreouer they carryed our men to the Merchauntes house of the Indias, which were Christians, who hauing information that ours also were people Christened, shewed themselues to be ioyfull thereof, both imbracing and banketting them, shewing them painted in a Paper, the fi-

gure

gure of the holy Ghost, the which they did worshippe, and before them made their Prayers vppon theyr knées, and that with such a countenaunce, and shew of greate deuotion, as though they were such men inwardlye indéede, as in appearaunce outwardlye they then pretented, and made shewe off: Furthermoze, the Moores then tolde our men by signes, that manye other Christians as those were, did dwell in another place farre from thence, and therefore they would not carrie them thether: howbeit they sayde, that after our Captaine Generall were come into the Porte or Harbour, they shoulde goe and sée them.

All these thinges those wilie people, shewed and imparted to our men, of purpose to deceiue them and to allure them to come within that Porte, where they were determined to destroy and kill them all.

After they had séene the Citie, they were then brought to the presence of the King, who commaunded to shew them Pepper, Ginger, Cloaues, and Wheate, giuing them of euerye sorte thereof some portion to be carryed and shewed the Generall, and sent him worde by his messenger, that of all those commodities he hadde greate store, and woulde giue him his loading if that hée woulde. Also that he had Golde, and Siluer, Amber, Ware, Iuorye, and other riches, in so greate plentie, that hée shoulde haue and finde there when hée woulde for lesse valour and prises, then in anie other place.

This Message was brought to our Captaine Generall vppon Mundaye, who hauing séene the Spices, and hearing of the Kinges promise, to furnishe him the same, and to lade him therewith, was meruailous gladde of that offer, and so much the rather, was hée confirmed in opinion of good lucke, for that our two banished men, hadde gathered such intelligence, and made him so full and good declaration of the People, Citie, and Lande there, and chiefelye of the two Christians, they founde in the House of the Merchauntes of the Indias.

Wherefore he & his Captaines immediatly aduiſed themſelues thereof, and ſo entering into counſel for the ſame, it was by them thought good, to come within the port, and to accept the offer of Spices, and afterwarde to goe on theyr voiage to Calicut, where if they could not haue the like, they would remaine content, with that they ſhould haue in this place, and thus hauing concluded vppon theſe pointes, they determined to enter into the harbour the next daie: in this meane while came certeine Moores to our ſhips with ſo great quietneſſe, and humilitie, and with ſuch ſhew and appearance of friendlineſſe and loue, as though they had ben of long acquaintance and familiaritie with our men: The next day following in the morning, ỹ floud being come, the Generall commanded to take vp their Ankors, minding to enter the harbour, but God not willing that he and the reſt ſhould enter into that preſent miſchiefe, nor to ende theyr liues in that place (as the Moores had determined they ſhuld haue done,) did therefore cauſe and prouide the meane that preuented that perill, and wrought their ſafetie: For when the Generalls ſhip had wayed her Ankor, and was going to enter the port, ſhe ſtrake vpon a ſhoel that was aſterne the ſame, which hap when he perceiued, and fearing hée ſhould caſt himſelfe away, he then forthwith commanded, to let fall his Ankor, & in like ſort did the other Captaines alſo: which chance when the Moores that were in the ſhips ſawe, & that the Generall was come to an ankor, they then imagined that during that daye, they ſhoulde not gette the Flẽte into the harbour, and therefore they ran to theyr boate, which they had on the ſhips ſide to goe to the Citie, at which inſtant alſo the Pilots of Monſambicke, falling a ſtearne the Admirall, toke the water, and thoſe of the boate toke them in and carried them away with them, although the Generall called vnto them, requiring them to bring backe, and deliuer them to him againe: But when he ſawe they would not ſo doe, then he apparantlye perceiued that ther was an euill meaning in their King and them, towards him and his, and that it was his great goodneſſe and

God ſent them fatherly checks to keepe thẽ frõ vtter deſtructiõ

fauour to giue him cause of staye, by happening vppon that shoell, thereby to preserue him from their treason imagined, and put in practise: Thus hauing declared to all his company, the opinion he conceiued of that which then before their eyes was done, and appeared to be deuised and wrought against them, he then commaunded the night being come, to giue some tormentes or torture, to two of the Moores, which he brought captiues with them from Monsambicke, thereby to see whether they had practised any treson, and to inforce them to open and disclose the same: which commaundement being obserued, and put in execution, by heating and dropping of bacon vppon their flesh, they immediately confessed, they had conspired treason, and that the Pilots toke the Sea, as fearing the same had ben disclosed: whereupon the Generall, altogether altered his minde and purpose of going into that Harbour. Neuerthelesse being vnquiet and greatly greeued at their falshood, he was desirous to vse lyke torture to another Moore captiue also: to make tryall whether he were of counsell and in consort with the rest.

But this Moore perceiuing preperation made for that purpose, did cast himselfe his hands being bound, into the sea, as in lyke manner another of them did, before it was daye light. The secrecie of the mischiefe prepared, being thus come to apparaunt view, and so discouered, the Generall gaue great thankes to God, by whose only goodnesse, he and his company were delyuered from imminent death and slaughter amongst these Infidells, and therefore in contemplation and thankes giuing for the same, he and his company being aboord the Admirall, sayd the salue Regina. After this being mindfull of their safetie, and fearing least the Moores would attempt some matter against them in the night time, they therefore ordained strong and diligent watch, commaunding euerye man to watch armed: And heere by the way is to be noted one thing, and that to bee meruayled at, which is this: That when our men came first before the Towne of Mombassa, all such amongest

them as then were ſicke, (which indéede were many) began then preſently to be whole: ſo that in this time of their great neceſſitie, and daunger, they felt and found themſelues ſound and ſtrong, which as it was paſt all hope and expectation of man, and farre aboue the common courſe of Nature, and operation of the ſame, ſo the more liuely it appeared to be the meruailous and ſupernaturall worke of God, and therefore miraculouſly done at this inſtant time of neceſſitie, when his diuine power was to be ſéene and extended, for the preſeruation of that poore diſtreſſed number, which then had their onely affiaunce in him. The watch thus prepared and ſet for that night, it fortuned that thoſe which watched in the ſhippe Berrio, felt the gabell of the ſame wagging, whereat an Ankor lay into the Sea, and at the firſt they adiudged that the gabell had bene wagged or ſhaken by a kinde of Fiſh called a Tunnie whereof many were there about which be very great and good meate, but giuing better and more attentiue eare thereto, they then perceiued that their enimies were at the ſame, who in truth did ſwimme about the gabell, and were cutting of it with their woodkniues or fawchings, and hoping or rather verely knowing, that perfourming their enterpriſe thereof the ſhippe would runne a ſhore, and ſo both ſhe and our men in the ſame be caſt away and taken: For by any other deuiſe they coulde not accompliſh their willes, and therefore they practiſed this meane. Howbeit our men hauing diſcryed whereabout they were, preuented them, by crieng out and calling to the other ſhippes, ſhowing what was in doing, and willing them alſo to beware and loke to the ſame, whereupon they of the ſhippe Raphael, came preſentlye to their ſuccour and reſcew, finding ſome of their enimies amongſt the cheines of the tacklings of their formaſt, who perceiuing how they were diſcouered, ſodainly caſt themſelues vnder water, and with the others that were cutting the gabell of the ſhippe Berrio, fledde away ſwimming to certaine boates, which they had lyeng ſomewhat farre off, wherein (as our men afterward vnderſtoode) were many

Tunnie good meate & plentifull in the coaſt of Mobaſſa.

Moores,

Moores, who taking them in, rowed fast awaye, and so retourned to the Citie. The Wensday and Thursday following, our Fléete still remained there, about which in ẏ night time came the enimies in boates, which alwayes lay harde by the shore, from which some of them did swimme of purpose to espie, if by any meane they could cut a sunder the gabells of the Ankors, but our men obserued and kept such diligent and warie watch, that they could not preuaile, neuertheless our men were greatlye troubled, and put in feare of burning their shippes. For truly it was to be meruayled at, that the Moores came not about the same in such shippes as they had, which if they had done, it had bene then lykely by all coniecture of man, that they should haue destroyed and killed vs all. It was coniectured that they béeing in feare of the Ordinaunce in our shippes, durst not giue attempt to set vppon the same by force, but whatsouer cause appeared in our sightes to bée a lette in that respect to them: It was most certayne in déede, that it was God his good will and fauour, to put their hearts in feare to deale with vs in anye forceable manner, whereby we might be preserued from the crueltie intended towardes vs.

¶ Heerein is contayned matter of the Citie of Mylinde, and how the Captaine generall came thether. Chap. 10.

The Captaine generall did willingly tarrie & remaine before Mombassa, the two daies as before is declared, of purpose to sée if he could haue from thence two Pilots to cary him to Calicut, for that without them it was verye hard for him to goe thether,

since our Pilots had no knowledge of that Countrey. But when he sawe he coulde not haue anye there, he departed thence vpon Friday in the morning with a small winde, and at the comming ouer the Barre, he lefte behinde him one of his Ankors, for his men were so wearied with bringing and hailing vp the rest, that they coulde not waye vp the same, which afterward being found ther by the Moores, was carried to the Citie, and placed harde by the Kings Pallaice, and remained there at what time Don Franco de Almeyda was the first Lord President of the Indias: who when he toke the same towne from the Moores, found this Ankor there, as I shall declare in the second Booke of this present Treatise. Being thus departed from Mombassa and passing on their voyage, eight leagues beyonde the same, the Generall and his Fléte, through lacke of winde, came to an Ankor hard by the land in the night, and in the dawning of the daye, they discouered two Sambucos (which are little Pinnacies) vnder the lye, three leagues from the Fléte a Sea bord, which when the Generall sawe, and being desirous to haue some Pilots to carrie him to Calycut, he supposed he might be sped of such to serue his turne, if he could take those small boates or Pinnacies, and therfore waying his Ankors, he and the other Captaines went towards them, and pursued the same vntil Euensong time, at which instant the Generall toke one of them, but the other ranne alande, from whence before it came. In this Pinnace which was so taken, were seauentéene Moores, amongst which was one olde Moore, who séemed to be Maister of the rest, hauing with him a young woman that was his wife: In the same also was found great store of siluer and golde, and some victualles. The Captaine not staying vpon this occasion, forthwith went forwarde, and in the selfe same daye with his whole Fléte came harde by Mylynde, which is eightéene leagues from Mombassa, and in three degrées to the Southwarde it hath no good Harboure, for that it is almost an open Roade, but there is a certain Piere or recife wherein the sea doth beat, which

Among the Moores also olde men vse to marrie yong vvomen.

which is the cause why the ships doe ride far from ỹ shore: This Citie standeth in a broad field along the Sea side, & round about the same are many Palme trees, with many other sorts of trees, which all the yeare grow greene: Also many Gardens and Orchards, replenished with all kind of herbes and fruits, and very faire fountaines of good waters in the same: But principally their Orenges excel, which are not onely very great, but also very sweet and pleasant in taste: They haue also great store and plentie of victuals, as Mylyo and Ryse, Cattell both greate and small, also great store of Hennes, which bee very fat and good cheape. The Citie is great, hauing in the same faire streets, & many faire houses of lime and stone, builded with many lofts, with their windowes and tarrisis made of Lime & earth: The naturall people of that Countrie are blacke, and of good proportion of bodie, with curled haire, the straungers which resort thether & make their abode there, are Moores of Arabia which doe gouerne themselues very well & commendably, especially the Gentlemen, who from the girdle vpward goe naked, and from the same downeward doe couer themselues with silke, and with very fine cotten cloth, and others with short Cloakes made of Cotten after the olde fashion, the which they doe weare to couer their arme pits: and vpon their heads, they weare a certeine manner of Cloth wrought with silke and golde. They weare also rich Daggers with great tassels of silke, of many colours, and swords very well garnished: They be all left handed, and carrie with them alwaies bows and arrowes, for they vse the pastime of shooting, & be great good Archers. Moreouer, they account themselues to be good horsemen, although there bee a common saieng or speach vsed by the inhabitants in the coasts thereaboutes: The men on horseback of Mombassa: and the women of Mylynde: for as in Mombassa be very good horsemen, so in Mylynde are very faire women, which goe richly apparelled: In this Citie also dwel many Gentiles of the kingdome of Cambaya, which is in the Indias: and these are greate merchants vsing tract

The beautiful scituation of Mylynde, with the pleasantnes of the soile, and fruits.

or traficke for golde, whereof there is some in that Countrie, as in like manner ther is Amber greace, Iuory, Pitch, and Ware, all which they giue in exchaunge to such as come from Cambaya for Copper, Quickſiluer, and Cloth of Cotten, and that the one and the other hath gaines therof: The king of this Citie is a Moore, and is serued with farre greater estate then the other kings which remaine behinde. The Generall being come ouer against this Citie did reioyce in his heart very much, and so likewise did all the rest of the Fleete, for that they now sawe, a Citie lyke vnto those of Portingale, and therefore they rendered most heartie and humble thankes to God, for their good and safe arriuall there: And being desirous to haue some Pilottes to carrie them to Calicut, the Generall commaunded to come to an Ankor, minding to assay if he coulde by anye meanes obteine such there as might serue for that purpose: For vntill this time, he could not know of the Moores hee had taken, whether amongest them were any Pilots, who albeit they were offered torments, still answered and said, there were none of them skilfull in that respect.

Mylynde like a city of Portingale

¶ How the Captaine Generall sent a Moore in message to Mylynde, and what aunswere the King made him. Cap. 11.

THE next day after being Easter euen, the old Moore which was taken Captiue, with the rest in the Pinnace, tolde the Generall that in Mylynde were foure ships of the Christian Indias, promising also that if he would license him, and the other Moores to goe to land, he would giue him for his regat, Christian Pilots, and moreouer wold furnish him with all things he had neede off. The Generall being well pleased with the speaches, and offer of this olde Moore, commaunded to wey theyr Ankors, and so remoued and came to an Ankor within

in halfe a league of the Citie. But from thence there came no bodie to our Fleete, for they feared and were in doubt that our men would take them captiue, and besides they knew by the Pinnace which the Generall toke, that wee were Christians, beleeuing also that our Shippes were Shippes of warre: All which the Generall supposing they coniectured: hee therefore vppon the Mundaye in the morning commaunded the olde Moze to a certeine shelfe lyeng ouer against the Citie, and there to leaue him, from whence he deemed they woulde fetch him, as indede they did, for when our Boate was gone from thence, there came from the shoare a boat for the Moze, & so caried him awaye presently to the King, to whome the Moze declared on the behalfe of the Generall what hee requested to haue, and further that hee desired to be at peace with him, in respect of his noble personage, whereof hee had heard greate good repoze, hoping also that it was God his great good will & pleasure that the Indias should bee discouered, which the rather by his aide & furtherance might be accomplished. The king hearing and receiuing in fauourable part the message, and messenger, was also verie gladde thereof, and forthwith returned the Moze in a Boate, sending with him one of his owne seruauntes, and a Priest by whome hee sent the Captaine Generall woode, that he was verye willing to conclude a peace betweene them, and that hee woulde giue him such Pilottes, as he woulde desire, with whatsoeuer besides he had neede of, and by these messengers were presented to the Generall, from the King three Sheepe, many Orenges, and Sugar Canes, which he receiued in thankfull wise, & by the selfe same messenger, returned answere to the king their Maister, that he graunted vnto, and accepted of the peace moued and offered betweene them, and was and woulde be readie to confirme the same. Moreouer hee saide vnto them, that the nert daye, hee would enter into their Harbour, and that the King shoulde vnderstande that hee came from, and is subiecte to a greate King, vppon the Cape of the Occident, who was

A present sent to ỹ Captaine Generall from the king of Mylynde.

was deſirous to know where the Citie of Calicut ſtode, & had ſent him to finde out and diſcouer the ſame, commaunding him alſo, to make peace with all kings and Princes, vpon whoſe territories in his waie, he ſhould hap to come and arriue, which would be willing to haue the ſame with him: and further tolde them that it was now two yeares ſince he came from his Countrie, and that the king his Maiſter was ſuch a worthy and puiſſaunt Prince, as the king their Maiſter would be gladdo to knowe him for his friend: Thus hauing talked and diſcourſed with them to effect aforeſaid, hée then diſmiſſing them, ſending by the ſame for a Preſent a Hat, (which in that time was vſed) and two braunches of Coral, three baſons of Braſſe, certeine little Bells, and two Scarffes to the king. The next daie after, being the ſecond after Eaſter daie, the Captaine Generall came nére to the Citie, whereof the king hauing knowledge, did immediatly ſend to viſite him, in more honourable ſorte: for hearing how farre of he was come, and what he ſought, he adiudged the king of Portingale to bé a Prince of a great ſtomack, and the General to be a worthy ſubiect in obeyeng to hazard himſelfe, in ſo daungerous and long a iourney Alſo hé conceiued greate pleaſure in his heart that he ſhoulde ſée ſuch people, as had ſo long time trauailed vpon the ſea, and ſo deſirous to ſée our men, he ſent word to the Generall, that the next day following, he would in his own perſon viſite him, and that their méeting ſhould be vpon the water, and therewith ſent him fiue ſhéepe, and ſtore of Cloues, Ginger, Pepper, and Nutmegs. This meſſage thus declared, the Captaine Generall yéelded to the kings determination, and therevpon did enter nérer, and came to an Ankor, harde to the foure ſhippes of the Indias, (whereof the olde Pilote tolde him before.) The Owners then hauing knowledge that our ſhippes came from a Chriſtian Countrie, and that we were Chriſtians, did immediatly come to viſite our Generall, who at that inſtant was in the ſhip of Paulo de la Gama: Theſe men are brolone of coulour, but they are of good ſtature & well

pro-

proportioned; They goe apparelled in long white gownes made of cotten, they haue great beards, & the hayre of their heades is long lyke vnto womens, and pleited vnder theyr tockes, which they weare on theyr heades. The Generall at theyr repaire to him, receiued them verye well, asking them first whether they were Christians, by an Interpretour he had that could speake the Algarauia tongue, whereof they had some vnderstanding, saieng that it was not their proper language, howbeit they yet had some knowledge thereof, by occasion of the trade and talke they vsually haue with ỹ Moores, of whom they aduised him to beware, and not haue ouer farre trust and confidence in those of Mylynde, least that the sequell of their inwarde meaning, were farre contrarie to their outwarde shewe. The Generall determining of himselfe to make tryall, whether they were Christians or not, or had anye knowledge of God, commaunded to bring forth a Table, wherein was painted the picture of our Ladie at what time she wept, in which also were the pictures of some of the Apostles, and shewed the same to the Indians, not telling them what it was: which when they sawe, they fell presently downe vpon the ground, worshipping that Representation, and prayed a while, whereof our Generall was verye ioyfull, and then demaunded whether they were of the Citie of Calycut, wherevnto they aunswered, No: howbeit they sayd they were of another Citie, further off called Grangalor, but of Calicut they could not say or informe any thing. And from this time, so long as our Fleete remayned there, they dayly came to the shippe of Paulo de la gama, to make their prayers before that Table, and did offer to the Images in the same, Pepper, and other things. These Indians did eate no Beefe, as we were informed of them.

The description of their persons and attire that inhabite this countrey and Citie.

¶How the King of Mylynde viſited the Captaine generall, and made peace with him, giuing him a Pilot to carry him to Calycut. Cap. 12.

THe laſt day of the eight after Eaſter, dinner being done, the King of Mylynde came in a great boate hard to our Fléte, apparelled in a Caſſocke of Crimſon Damaſke, lined with gréne ſatten, hauing vpon his head a rich towell. He was ſitting in a chaire, ſuch as was vſed in olde time, very well made and wrought with wire, being in ſight very faire, and in the ſame was a cuſhion of ſilke, and another like vnto that hard by him, which was couered with a hat of Crimſon ſatten. There ſtod hard by him as his Page, an olde man, who carried a very rich ſword, the ſcaberd wherof was ſiluer: he brought with him manye Shagbuts, and two Flutes of Iuorie, which were eight ſpans of length each of them, they were very well wrought, and vppon the ſame they played by a little hole that is in the midſt thereof, agréing and according well with the ſhagbuts. There came with the King, about the number of twentie Moores Gentlemen all richly apparelled. The King now being come néere to the ſhips, the Captaine generall came forth to méete him in his boat well trimmed and ſet out with all his flagges, and be himſelfe comely araied, withall his beſt apparell, carrieng with him twelue of the moſt principall men of his ſhippes, his brother onely except, whom he left with charge of ỳ ſame.

The meeting of the king of Mylind and the Captaine generall.

The boates of each part being come néere together, and the one making countenance of friendly ſalutation & entertainment to the other, the King then ſaid to the Generall, that he would ſpeake with him in his owne boat, of purpoſe to ſée & view him the better, wherevpon forthwith he receiued him into his boat, the King then giuing to the Generall as great honour & curteſie as though he had alſo ben a King: he very earneſtly noted & beheld him & his men, as a ſtrange ſight and matter to him and his people: he required the Generall to tell him the name of his King, and being tolde, he

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commaunded the same to be then presently written: he also inquired matter perticularly of him, & of his power, wherunto the Generall aunswered, and in euerye point satisfied his demaund, declaring also for what cause ẏ king his master had sent him to discouer Calicut, which was to haue from thence spices, whereof in his dominion & country was none. And after he had thus talked with the King & informed him somewhat of the same & of the straights of ẏ red Sea, the King then promised to him a Pilot to carry him to Calicut, & also very earnestly desired him to goe with him into his Citie, there to take his pleasure, & solace himself in his Pallaice, saieng it was needfull & necessary, after so many troubles, in so long a voyage sustained, to vse some recreation, and take some rest: further then promising, that if he would so do, that afterward he in like manner would go with him to sæ his ships, & make merry in the same, wherunto the Generall aunswered, that he had no license of the King his Master to go a shore, & therefore if he shuld varie from his Princes wil & commaundement therein, he shuld then giue an euill accompt of himselfe, to which excuse the King replied, saieng, that if he shuld go to sæ his ships, what accompt should he then make to those of his Citie, or what might they dæme & adiudge of him therein: yet notwithstanding he said, ẏ it was a griefe to him ẏ he refused to go with him to his Citie, which was & shuld be at ẏ commandemẽt of him & of ẏ king his master, to whom he wold send his Embassador or els write, if he wold come ẏ way at his returne from Calicut. The General yelding thanks to the King, promised him to returne ẏ way. & whilest they were thus talking there, did send for those Moores, which he had taken captiues, and gaue them to the King, saieng that if he could do him any further pleasure, he would gladly doe the same: with which gift the King was so content, that he said, he did more estæme of the same, then if he had giuen him such another Citie as that of Mylynde was.

Now hauing ended their talke and confirmed the friendship betwæne them, the King then rowing amongst our ships,

and behelde the ſame, with great pleaſure and admiration. out of which great ſtore of ſhot of Ordinaunce paſſed, wherewith they were greatlye delyghted, all which time our Generall went with him, to whom he declared, that he neuer ſaw any men of whom he toke ſo great pleaſure, as he did of thoſe of Portingall, whereof he woulde gladlye haue ſome with him, to helpe him in his warres, which he hath ſometime with his enimies: for it well appeared they were men apt to offend their enimie, and to abide and ſuffer any trauell or paine, that ſhould happen vnto them. To which his ſpeaches the Generall aunſwered, that if hée had experience of their doings, he woulde then a great deale better lyke of them, and further that they would helpe him, if the King his Maſter would ſende his ſhips of warre to Calicut, as he doubted not but he would, if it wer Gods good pleaſure to permit the ſame to be diſcouered. After the King had in this ſort ſolaced himſelfe, he then deſired the Generall, that ſince he would not go with him to his Citie, he ſhuld then let him haue two of his men to go and ſée his Pallaice, and for pledge of the ſame, he would giue him his ſonne, and one of his chiefe Chaplaines, the which they call Cacis, wherevnto the Generall yéelded and appointed two of our men to go with the King, who at his departure, requeſted the Generall that the next day he would goe along in his boate hard by the ſhore, where he ſhuld ſée his horſmen running, & ſo they departed for that time, the next day being Thurſday, the Captaine generall & Nicholas Coello, went in their boates armed along the ſhore, the one ſomewhat diſtant from the other, betwéene whom vpon the ſhore were many men on horſebacke ſkirmiſhing, & as our boats approched nére the ſhore, there came certaine footemen downe certaine ſtayres of ſtone from the Kings houſe, which was in ſight, where they toke the King vp in a chaire, and caried him verye nére to the Boate of the Generall, to whom he ſpake verye louing wordes, and once more requeſted him to enter vpon land, and go to his Citie, for that his father being a laine man, was deſirous to ſée him, and

that

that whilest he should remaine on shoare, both he and his children would enter and abide in his ships. But our Generall, fearing least vnder such sugred speach some bitter baite might lie couered, did therfore still excuse himself for going on land, alleadging hée must obey his Prince, who gaue him no license or commission so to do at anie time. And so taking his leaue of the king, hée went a while hard by the ships of the Indias, shooting off much Ordinaunce, who when they sawe vs passe by lifted vp their hands, saieng: Christe, Christe, and that night with the kings license our men made them a great feast, with much passime also of Squibs, Gunne shot, and great and lowde cryes. The Fléet thus lyeng in ỹ harbour, there came vpon ỹ sundaie béing the. 21. day of Aprill, from the king, a man that was in great credit with him, to visite the Captaine Generall, who at that instant was very sad and heauie: for that it was then two daies since any man came to the Fléet from the Citie, by reason whereof he feared least that the king were offended with him, as taking occasion of offence, for that he refused to go on shoare, supposing also that he wold therevppon, breake the peace and league made betwéene them, for which he was forrowfull, especially since as yet he had no Pilots. And when he sawe, that he which was so great with the king, did bring him no Pilots, he then began to haue some iealousie, and suspition of the king, who being informed therof, and knowing the Generall remained there for that cause, did therefore forthwith send him a Pilot, a Gentile (called in their language Gosarate) whose name was Canaca, making excuse that hée had not sent him sooner, and so the king and the Generall remained friends, and continued the peace before concluded vpon betwéene them.

The Generall vvould not consent to go on lād at Mylynde.

¶ How the Captaine Generall departed from Mylynde, came to Calicut, and of what greatnesse and nobleneſſe that citie is. Cap. 13.

THe Captaine Generall being thus prouided of all things neceſſarie for his voyage, departed from Mylynde towards Calicut vpon the Tewſday, being the 22. day of Aprill, and from thence he began to cut ouer a goulfe, which is of ſeauen hundreth and fiftie leagues, for the land there doth make a certeine great valley, which doth runne along the coaſt from the North to the South, and our voiage in demaunding of Calicut, lay to the Eaſtward, in following whereof the next Sunday our men ſawe the North, which a long time before they had not ſeene, and alſo they ſawe the South, of which good fortune they thanked God, in that it repreſented as then to them winter of the Indias, & where alwaies in that goulfe are great ſtormes, they now found none, but rather faire weather: The Fridaye being the. xvii. daye of May, and xviii. daies next after their departing from Mylynde (in which time they had ſeene no land) they then diſcouered & came to ſight of land. And the Flæte being viii. leagues of ſeabord from the ſhoare: the land ſeemed high: their Pilot whoſe name was Canaca, did as then let fall the Plommet, & found fortie fiue fathom, whereupon to auoide and apart himſelfe from that coaſt, he made his way to the Southeaſt, & vppon the Saterday he made to landward, howbeit he ranne not ſo neere the ſame as he might certeinly knowe it, but he perceiued by ſmall ſhowres of raine, which fell as they made towards land, ỹ they were on the coaſt of ỹ Indias, for ỹ at ỹ preſent time of ỹ yere, ỹ winter is euer in thoſe Indias. The ſunday, being ỹ xx. day of May the Pilot ſawe certeine high hils, which were ouer the Citie of Calicut, and came ſo neere to land, that he did reknowledge the ſame, and with great ioy and pleaſure, demaunded of the Generall Albrycias, ſaieng that this was the land, which he and his companie ſo greatly deſired to ſee, and come to. The General repleniſhed with ioy of that good fortune, gaue Canaca his demaund, & forthwith went to praier, ſaieng the Salue, wherein they gaue God greate thanks,

They wer 23 dayes, & ſawe no lād after theyr departure from Mylinde.

thanks, for this their happie and safe arriuall vppon that coast, and in sight of the place, which they so earnestly longed for to see, when praier was done they made great ioy, and feasted on shipboord, and the selfe same daie in the euening, the Generall came to an Ankor two leagues from Calicut, and immediatly came certeine people of that land in fowre boates called Almaydyas, to our Fléete, to vnderstand what ships these were, hauing neuer before séene any of that making, come to that coast: These people came all naked, sauing that their members were couered, with little peces of linnen cloath: they are browne people. At their comming to vs some of them entered into the Generalls shippe, and albeit the Pilot Goserate, tolde him that they were Fishermen, a poore kinde of people (for so they call all such as bee poore men in the Indias) yet hée receyued them all well, and commaunded his men to buye of their Fish, which they brought with them: And hauing some talke with them, he did vnderstand that, that towne was not Calicut, for it was they said further off, & offered to carrie our Fléete thether: Whereupon the Generall required them so to doe, and therewith departed thence, and were brought by those Fishermen to Calicut, which is a Citie scituated on the Coast of Malabar, which is a Prouince of the second Indias, that hath his beginning in the Mount Dely, and endeth at the end of Comory, which is in lentgh three score leagues and one, and fifténe in breadth: All the Countrie lyeth lowe, and is apt to be couered with water: Ther be many Ilandes in the same, & it doth enter into the Sea Indico: There is a verie high hill which diuideth the limits betwéene them, and a great kingdome called Narsinga: The Indians do report that this land of Malabar in olde time was maine Sea, and ran as far as ỹ hill where now the Ilands of Maldiua are, which were then firme land, & did couer & discouer ỹ other of Malabar, in which are many and pleasaunt Cities, & thoe also very rich, by reson of ỹ trade they haue principaly with thẽ of Calicut, which in riches & vice doth excel al in our time,

The Fleet arriueth at Calicut & the maner of the people there

whoſe foundation was on this ſoꝛt: This ꝓuince of Malabar was in the olde time gouerned altogether by one king, who made his aboade in the Citie of Conlan, and in the laſt kings daies of this land (whoſe name was Sarana-perimal, and died fiue hundꝛeth yeares agone) the Mꝛes of Meca diſcouered the Indias, and came to the ꝓuince of Malabar, the inhabitaunts wherof then were Gentiles, and the king himſelfe was a Gentile: From the time of the comming of theſe Mꝛes, they beganne to account, the yeares as we account, from ꝯ birth of our Lord God: And after they came thether, they grew into ſuch familyaritie with this king, and hée entered into ſuch conference & good opinion of their lawes, that he renounced the manner of religion of his owne Countrie, and minded thence foꝛth to imbꝛace theirs, and the loue and liking he had of this ſect of Mahomet ſo déepely toke roote, and entered into his heart, that he determined to goe and ende his lyfe, in the houſe of Meca: Thus béing reſolued, foꝛ the loue he bare to that ſect, to abandon and leaue his kingdome foꝛ euer, and goe with them, beforꝛe his departure he imparted to his kinred, and diuided amongeſt them all his Lordſhips, and territoꝛies, and hauing diſtributed and giuen the ſame ſo farre foꝛth, that there remained to him no moꝛe but vii. leagues of his Countrie, which laye néere to the ſhoare, where he meant to imbarke himſelfe, the which was neuer beforꝛe inhabited, & therfoꝛe he then gaue ꝯ ſame to a coſin of his, which then ſerued him as his Page: commaunding ꝯ the ſame circuit ſhold be inhabited in perpetuall memoꝛie, of his imbarking there: To the ſame his kinſman hée alſo gaue, his ſwoꝛd, & a towell after the Moriſco ſoꝛt, as things apperteining and incident to the eſtate, & gaue commaundement to all the Gentlemen to whom he had giuen all the reſt of his lands, that they ſhould be obedient & true ſubiects vnto him, and to take him foꝛ theyꝛ Emperour, (the kings of Conlan and Canamor onely except) whome alſo he commaunded and charged, & likewiſe al the others, that they noꝛ no other Lordes ſhoulde coine money in the

The firſt & ſtrange inſtitutiō of the kingdōe of Calicut.

Prouince of Malabar, but onely the King of Calycut. So hauing thus bestowed and giuen his lands, possessions and dignities, as he thought good, and set euery necessary thing in order, for establishing his determinate will and pleasure, he then imbarked himselfe there, wher now Calicut is builded and scituated, and for that the King did there imbarke himself to go towards ỹ house of Mecq, ỹ Moores then tok such deuotion towards that place, that they and all their posteritie euer since that time hetherto would not, nor yet will take any lading but out of that Port. And from that time afterward, they came no more to the Port of Coulan, as vsually they did before, by meane and occasion whereof, the same grew to ruine, and was destroyed, especially when Calicut was once builded, and that many Moores came and inhabited the same. For as they were Merchaunts of great dealings, so came they thether, and made there the greatest and richest Faire or Marte of all the Indias, finding there all the Spices, Drugs, Putmegs, and all other things that could be wished, as all kindes of precious stones, pearles, & seede of pearle, Muske, Saunders, Agoila, fine Dishes of earth, Laker, gylted Coffers, and all the fine things of the Chyna, Gold, Amber, Waxe, Iuorie, fine and course cotten, as well white as dyed in colours, much rawe silke, & silke twisted, and all kinde of linnen cloth of silke, and golde, and cloth of golde, and cloth of tissew, chamlets, graine, scarlets, carpets of silke, Copper, Quicksiluer, Vermilion, Allome, corralls, Rose waters, and all kinde of Conserues, so that ther is no kinde of Merchandise of all the world, which coulde be demaunded, but it should be found there. Moreouer, it was very quiet, for that it was scituated along the Coast, the which lieth almost open, and very daungerous: it is inuironed & set round about with many Orchards, in which are many sorts of fruits of that lande, and many hearbes, and excellent waters. Also they haue many Palme trées, and other sorts of trées. In this lande there is but small store of Rice, which is ther a principall victuall, as amongst vs our Wheate is, but there commeth from other places

Laker is a kinde of gum that procedeth of the Ant.

great aboundaunce thereof, as in like manner there doeth of other victualls. The Citie is great, and all the houſes be of ſtraw, (onely the houſes of their Idolls, Chappels, and the Kings houſes except) which are of lyme and ſtone, and couered with tyle, for none but they are permitted by theyr lawes to haue anye other manner of building then with ſtrawe. It was inhabited by Gentiles of ſundry ſects, and by Moores which were great Marchaunts, and ſo rich, that ſome of them had fiftie ſhips. There is no ſuch ſeaſon of Winter, but that there may lye in that Harbour fiue hundred ſhippes. They haue there a ſhore whether they do carry them with ſmall trauaile, for that they be made without nailes, ſowed with ropes of Cayro, and pitched vpon, they haue no quiell, but are flat bottomed.

¶Of what great power the King of Calicut is, and of his vſe and cuſtome: likewiſe of the other Kings of Malabar, and how the Nayres do liue. Chapter. 14.

FOr that this Citie was of ſo great a trade, and alſo the Countrey round about, ſo inhabited, which increaſed ſo largelye the Kings rents, it came to paſſe, that he grew to be ſo rich of money, and ſo mightie in power by multitude of people, that in one daye he was able to leauie and make in a readineſſe thirtie thouſand fighting men, and in three dayes ſpace, one hundred thouſand. They called him Samoryn, which in theyr tongue is Emperour, for ſo he was among the Kings of Malabar, and there were no more but two beſide him: that is to ſay the King of Coulan and the King of Canauor: For albeit the others were called Kings, yet were they not ſo.

This

This King of Calycut was a Bramene, as others his predecessours also were, which amongst the Malabars are Priests, and for that it is a custome and auncient order observed, that all the Kings doe dye in one Pagode, which is the house of praiers to their Idolls, he is elected for that cause, for alwayes in the same house there must be and is, a King to serue those Idolles, and when he that serueth there doeth dye, then must the King that then raygneth and gouerneth, leaue his Empire, and goe serue in that place as the other did, and into his place and Kingdome, they elect and put an other, that shall so succede him. The election and succesiō of the kings of Calicut.

And if anye of them that is in possession of the Kingdome, refuse to goe into the Pagode, (the King that then serueth in the same being dead) they will then inforce him thereto which so refuseth, although it be against his will. These Kings of Malabar be browne men, and goe naked from the gyrdell vpwarde, and from thence downewarde, they be couered with cloath of silke and of Cotten: sometime they put vppon them shorte gownes, which they doe call Basus of silke or cloath of golde, and of scarlet with very rich stones; and especiallye the King of Calycut excelleth in these attires and Jewells. They be shauen, leauing vpon the vpper lip as the Turkes vse, the hayre vnshauen. They be serued but with small estate, especiallye at theyr meate, whereof they haue but lyttle: But the King of Calycut is serued, with greater Estate.

These Kings doe not marrie, nor obserue the Lawe of marriage, but yet they maye haue a Lemman of the house of the Nayres, which amongest the Malabars are Gentlemen, and shee hath hir house by hir selfe, neere to the Pallaice. They doe allowe hir so lyberallye for hir charges and maintenaunce, that she maye haue plentifullye of all thinges to hir contentation, vppon that Stypende assigned hyr. the kings Lemman vvith hir state and allovvāce

And when any dislliking is had of hir by them, they may

allwayes leaue hir and such children as they haue by hir, be not taken or accompted for theyrs, neither doe they inherite the Kingdome, nor anye thing of theyrs.

After they be men, they are had in no more estimation, then that is incident vnto them from the mothers bloud and parentage. Their brothers doe inherite if they haue any, if not, then their sisters children shall, who doe not marry, neither yet haue any certaintie of their husbands. They bee very free and at libertie, to chuse those of whom they lyke, and be such as are best esteemed of. They haue verye great rents allowed them: and when anye of them come to the age of ten yeares, (for at that time they are to be knowen of men) their kinred then doe sende forth out of this kingdome, for a young man Nayre, and presenting him with gifts, earnestly requeste the same to take hir virginitie, who then receiueth hir with great ioy, and after she is thus vsed, doth tye about hir necke a Jewell, which she doth carry and weare allwayes during hir life, as a thing in great estimation, & for a token of the libertie giuen hir by that act, to do with hir bodie afterward for euer, what she will: for without this manner of ceremonie, they may not know any mã. These Kings sometimes haue warres one with another, & they in their owne persons goe into the fieldes, yea, and if need so require, they also fight: when they die, they be caried out from their pallaice into a plain field, wher they be burned with great quantitie of wood of sanders & a sweet wood called Agula. At this burning are allwaies present all his brothers, & nereste kinred, and al the noble men of the countrey. And they make staye of him from burning after his death three daies, that they all may repaire thether & come together, to see and viewe whether he came to his death naturallye, or whether he were killed: for if he dyed by force of anye mans hande, then are they bounde to take reuenge thereof.

After he is burned, and all the ashes buryed, they doe all shaue themselues without leauing any hayre, yea, euen of the leaste childe that is a Gentile.

All

All of them in generall doe then cease from eating of Betele, during the space of thirténe daies, and he that doth eate the same infringeth their law, and therefore they wil cut his lips, and that by iustice: In all this time, the prince which shall succéd doth not command nor gouerne, which is done of purpose, to sée whether in that time anye man will come to saie or obiect any thing against him. These things and daies, thus done and past, the noble men of the Countrie doe cause him to bée sworne, to all those lawes & customs, which were made by his predecessour, and to pay all his debts: Also that hée shall trauaile to recouer whatsoeuer things of his kingdome before were lost: This oath he taketh hauing his swoorde in his lefte hande, and in the right hande a Candle burning, which hath a ring of golde vppon it, which he toucheth with two of his fingers, and so taketh his oath. This being done, they throwe or powre vpon him a few graines of Rice, with many such other ceremonies, in doing whereof they say many prayers, and he worshippeth then the Sunne, three times, which so done, the Caymayles, that be Lords by parentage doe immediatly holding the selfe same Candle, sweare to be true subiects vnto him.

The thirténe daies béing ended, they all then doe eate Betele againe, and flesh and fish as before, the king onely except, who then taketh thought and sorroweth for the death of his predecessour: whose manner of mourning is thus: He must not by the space of one whole yeare, eate any flesh or fish, or yet Betele, neither must he shaue his beard, nor cut his nailes, nor eate but once in a daie, and must wash himselfe all his bodie ouer, before he doe eate, and praie certeine houres in the daye: After the yeare is past and ended, he then vseth a certeine ceremonie for the soule of the king his predecessour, which is much like to our Dirge, whereat are assembled an hundreth thousand persons, at which time he giueth great almes, when this ceremonie is finished, they then confirme the Prince for inheritour of the kingdome, and so all the people do depart.

The king of Calicut and all the other kings of Malabar, haue one especiall man that hath the charge for administration of iustice, and doth command & is obeyed in all other matters of gouernement as amplie as the king himselfe. The men of warre which the king of Calicut & the other kings haue, are Nayres, which be all Gentlemen, and are appointed to no other office or affaires, but to fight when nede requireth. They be all Gentiles, and carrie their armour wherewith they fight themselues, which is bowes, arrowes, speares, daggers made like a hooke, and targets, and march with them very honourably and gallantly, but they goe naked, carrieng onely certeine linnen cloth of cotten painted, with the which they couer themselues from the girdle to the knee, they are bare footed: and weare vppon their heads certeine towels. They all liue by the king, and by the noblemen of the countrie, of whome they haue ordinarie stipends and allowaunce for their maintenaunce: They doe so greatly esteeme and make account of their gentrie, and of their cleanlinesse, that they will not touche any husbandman, neither permit any of them to come into their houses. The husbandmen are bound when they goe in the streetes to crie with a lowde voyce, and saye, Hoo they goe, for if these Gentlemen doe come, and bid them goe out of the way, and they doe not obey their commaundement therein: then may they kill them: The king cannot make Gentlemen, except they be of the stocke of Gentlemen. They serue very well and faithfully, with them of whome they haue their interteinment, and vnder whose obeysaunce they liue, not sparing by night nor daie, anye opportunitie of time for shewe of their best indeauour in seruice of the same, nor making anye account of meat or of their person or of sleepe, whensoeuer their trauell or dilligence, may take effect or purpose of well doing. They haue so small charge and occasion of expence, that with halfe a crowne a peece (which is their ordinarie allowance for one moneth) they may very well and sufficiently, maintaine themselues, and each of them a boye to serue him.

Naires, & vvhat theyr degree, office, & calling is.

The

The Nayres by the law of the country, cannot marry, and for that cause they haue no children certain, but those which they haue are begotten of Lemmans, with which three or fowre of them do lie, by accord & agréement had and determined amongest themselues, hauing one woman onelye to serue that purpose, vnlesse any cause or quarrell growe amongest them, and euerye one of them shall be with her a whole daie, accompting from the one halfe of the daye present wherein he commeth, to the other halfe of the day next following, at which time he departeth from her, and then commeth another, who continueth the lyke time: Thus they passe ouer and spend their life time without care and trouble of wife and children: They mainteine their lemmans verie well according to their degrées and birth. And if any of them will at any time leaue and forsake her, they may at their pleasure doe it, and likewise she maye refuse anye of them at her will. These women are all Gentlewomen, for the Nayres maye not take anye Countrie women, and they also doe not marrie: And for that there bée so many men to one woman, they take not them for theyr children which bée begotten of her, although the same bée lyke vnto them: and therefore theyr brothers children, doe inherit their lands, and haue their goods: This lawe that these Gentlemen should not marrie, the king ordeined and made, for that they hauing no wiues nor children, on whom they should haue care and fire their loue, might the better indure the warres, and liue at more libertie to serue in the same.

And because they are Gentlemen, and that they should be the more animated and incouraged to liue in that order, and to serue well, they be so priuiledged, that none of them can be imprisoned for any cause, nor be put to death by any meane of ordinarie iustice: Yolubeit when one of them doth kill another, or else doth kill a Cowe, (which amongst them is taken for a greate sinne, for that they worshippe them) or slæpe or eate with a countrie woman, or speake euill of the king.

The Calicutias kill no kine for they vvorship them.

Then will the king, hauing true information of any of theſe offences, giue out his warrant in writing vnder his owne hand, directed to one Nayre, commaunding him therby, that he with two or three other, doe forthwith kill the Nayre, that hath ſo offended and ſinned contrarie to the Law: By vertue of which warrant, they hew and cut him with their ſwords, whereſoeuer they doe finde him, and when he is dead, they hang vpon him the kings writing, to the end that all men may know and vnderſtand wherefore they killed him: Theſe Nayres cannot take their weapons, nor enter into any combat, before they be armed knights: when they atteine to the age of ſeauen yeares, they bee forthwith ſet to learne to play at all weapons, & to the ende they ſhould bee very perfect, their Maiſters doe hale and wreſt the ioyntes of their armes, and afterward they teache them their fence ſuch as bee apt for the ſame: The weaponnes that are moſt vſed amongeſt them be Swords and Targets. The Maiſters which teach them, be graduats in the weapons which they teach, and they bee called in their language Panycaes. They be reuerenced amongeſt the Nayres, & euery ſcholler of theirs whatſoeuer, although he be olde, or if hee be a great noble man, ſhall at all times when he ſeeth him, doe to him reuerence and worſhip, and this by lawe is ordeined: and further all of them are bound to take at their hands a leſſon two monthes in euery yeare, during theyr liues: By reaſon whereof they be very perfect and ſkilful in theyr weapons, and for that cauſe they greatly eſteeme of themſelues.

When any of them will be an armed knight, hee then goeth well accompanied with all his kinred and friends, & preſenteth himſelfe before the king, to whome he firſt offereth three ſcore Fannons of golde, which is a certeine kinde of money amounting to the value of three crownes. Wherevpon the king doth immediatly aſke him, whether he will keepe and obſerue the order and cuſtome of the Nayres? Whereunto he aunſwereth and ſaith, yea. Then hee commaundeth to put about him a ſworde, and laieng his right

hand

hand vpon his head, saith certaine words as though he wold pray ouer him, which he vttereth so softly, as none can heare the same. Afterward he imbraceth him, saieng in his language these words following, which in our tongue, doth signifie or meane: Haue a regard to keepe these Bramenes and their Kine. This being done, the Nayre doth fall down and worship the King, and from thence forth he remaineth made Knight. These Nayres when they yelde themselues to liue and serue any King or Noble man, they binde themselues to dye with him, and for him: which bond they doe so well obserue and inuiolably keepe, that if their Maister in any warre or otherwise be slaine, they will fight vntill they are killed, which hath done the same acte, and if at that instant they cannot accomplish their wills, for that they were not present at the deede doing, then will they goe afterward and seeke them out, and neuer leaue them till they be killed by some manner of deuise. They be great southsayers, they haue good dayes and bad dayes, they worship the Sun, the Moone, the fire, and the Kine, and the first that they do meet in going forth of their house in the morning: they doe easily beleeue whatsoeuer vanitie. The Diuell is oftentimes in them, but they say it is one of their Gods or Pagodes, for so they call him: but whosoeuer or whatsoeuer it be, it inforceth them to vtter terrible words & speaches, which the King doth beleeue. And the Nayre in whome the Diuell is so entred, goeth with a naked sword before the King, altogether quaking & trembling, giuing himself cuts & wounds saieng, I am such a God, and I am come to tell thee such a thing, & in this manner he vseth himselfe, crieng out lyke a mad man: and if the King make any doubt of that he saith & doth not presently giue credite to his speache, then doth he roare & send forth greater cryes & giue himselfe greater cuts, vntill such time the King doe beleeue him. There be other linages of people of ỹ Malabars, which are of diuers sects & customes, whereof to speake were ouer tedious, & too long to declare: all which doe obaye those Kings, (the Moores onely except) which by reason of the great customes they

their god or the diuell is many times in them.

paye for their Merchandiſe, are in great eſtimation among them.

¶ How the Captaine generall ſent one of his baniſhed men to Calycut, and how a Moore of Tunis came and ſpake with him, by whoſe meanes he ſent a meſſenger to the King of Calycut, and how he returned anſwere to the Generall. cap. 15.

The Captaine generall being come to an Anker without the Barre or Recife of Calycut, he ſent one of his baniſhed men in the ſelfe ſame Almaydes or boats which they brought thether, for two reſpects: the one to ſée what Countrey it was: the other to make tryall how we ſhould be receiued, becauſe we wer Chriſtians, beléeuing alſo ỹ the people there wer chriſtened: & when this baniſhed man was landed, ther came immediatly a great number of people to ſée him as a ſtranger: they aſked of the Malabars which went with him, what he was? Who anſwered, that they déemed him to be a Moze, and that he came with thoſe which are in the three ſhippes they doe ſée without the Barre at Anker. Whereof they of Calycut greatly merualled, for that his apparrell was far differente from that which the Mozes ỹ come from ỹ ſtraights, doe vſe to weare. Thus flocked about him much people, & ſome that had the Algarauia tongue, ſpake vnto him, but he hauing no vnderſtanding thereof could not nor did make any anſwere or ſpeaches vnto them, at which alſo they in like manner greatly merualled, for that being a Moze (as they déemed) he did not vnderſtand the Algarauia language: Neuertheleſſe going with him in this manner, and verelye yet beléeuing he was a Moze, they caried him to the houſe of two Mozes, which were naturally borne in Tunys in Barbarie, and were then come to dwell in Calicut. To whom being brought, one of them whoſe name was Bontaybo could ſpeake the Spaniſh tongue, & did well knowe the

Bontaybo a More of Barbarie, dwelling in Calicut

the Portingals as he said afterward, hauing seene them in Tunys in the time of ỹ King Don Ioan in the ship called Lareyna which the same King sent thether manye times to seeke for such things as he and his subiects hadde made of. And as soone as the banished man was entered into their house, the Moze spake vnto him and sayd: I giue thee to the Diuell, who brought thee hether, which wozds was vttered in ỹ Spanish tongue. And after he asked him what way he had gone and trauailed, that he was come to this place: whereunto the banished man aunswered & told him, shewing also, how many ships the Generall had ther, wherat Bontaybo meruailed, and wondzed how they could come by Sea thether. Then he asked him what they sought so farre off? And he aunswered that they came to seeke Christians and spices. Mozeouer Bontaibo asked why ỹ Kings of Fraunce and Spaine, & the Duke of Venice did not also sende thether? Whereto the banished man made aunswere, that ỹ King of Portingale would not giue his consent they should so doe: Bontaybo replieng thereto, sayde, that he did well & wisely therein. Thus hauing talked a while, he gaue him very good entertainment, and commaunded to giue him certaine Cakes, made of the flower of Wheate, which the Malabars do call Apes, and with the same honnie. After he had well eaten, Bontaybo aduised him to go to the ships, & said he would goe with him, (as indede he did) to se ỹ Captaine generall. And being come to the Admirall which was then entered, Bontaybo then began to say to the General in Spanish: God lucke, good lucke, many Rubies, many Emeraulds: thou art bound to giue great thankes to God, for that he hath brought thee where there is all kinde and sorts of spices, stones, and all the riches of the worlde.

When they hearde him so saye, they all meruayled greatlye thereat, for they before woulde not haue beleued, that there hadde beene anye man so farre off from Portingale, that coulde vnderstande theyr language.

Wherefore with weeping teares which they then plentiful-

ly ſhed for ioye and pleaſure they had conceiued, as well for the ſame, as alſo for their ſafe and happie arriuall there, they then gaue to God moſt humble and heartie thankes through whoſe onely fauour, good will, and pleaſure, that good lucke and great good benefite, had happened to them. And then the Generall imbraced Bontaybo, and cauſed him to ſit downe by him, aſking him if he were a Chriſtian, and how he came to Calicut? For aunſwere whereto ỹ ſame told him of whence he was, and what he was, and how he came to Calicut by the way of Cayro, alſo he ſhewed him by what meanes he came to knowledge of Portingals, and that alwaies he had bene a friend to them, for that in all reſpects & at all times, their doings & manners appeared to him to be good and worthy of friendſhip. Finally he ſayde, that as he had in time paſt bene a friend to them, ſo would he now at this preſent continue his good will, and was ready and would be to doe all that in him was to pleaſure & further them, and the effect of their purpoſe in comming thether. The Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, and promiſed to recompence him very liberally in reſpect of that his good will, and for any pleaſure or friendſhip he ſhoulde thencefoorth ſhew to him and his company, he ſhuld be wel aſſured to be thankfully conſidered of. Declaring alſo that he was the moſt ioyfull man of all the world to finde him there, and to haue him for a friend and an ayde, verely beleeuing that God had ſent him thether, to giue an ende to the enterpriſe of the voyage, which he ſo deſired in diſcouering of thoſe Indias, and had entered into, and paſſed through ſo many daungers by long tract of time to attaine vnto the ſame, and now notwithſtanding his arriual ther, he thought to haue but ſmall fruite of his trauaile, without his helpe & friendly furtheraunce.

Then he requeſted him to declare, what manner of man the King of Calycut was, and whether he thought he would receiue him with good wil as an Embaſſadour from the King of Portingale.

Bontaybo aunſwered, that the King of Calycut, was

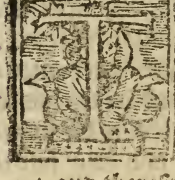
was a very good man and of an honourable disposition, and that he no doubt would receiue him gladly, for Embassadour, from a straunge king, especially if his comming were to settle and intreate for establishment of tract or trade of merchaundise in Calicut, and had brought with him anye kinde of Merchaundise for that purpose: For (said Bontaibo) as there doth grow great aduauntage and profit by custome thereof to the king, so is the same indede the verye principall rents or reuenewes he hath for his maintenaunce: Moreouer he informed the Generall that the king at that instant was in a certaine village fiue leagues from Calicut, scituated along the coast, named Panane, whether he aduised him to send vnto him, & to declare of his arriuall and comming thether. The Generall very well liking of the speaches and aduise of Bontaybo, did therefore giue vnto him certeine gifts, and sent with him two of his men in message to the king of Calicut, requesting Bontaybo to direct them on their waye to Panane, which he accordingly did. These messengers being nowe come before the king, one of them whose name was Fernan Martyn, by an interpretour which he had, declared vnto him, that he came from his Captaine who is arriued in the port of Calicut with certeine shippes, and is come thether from the king of Portingale, of purpose to bring him letters, which the same Captaine is readie to come and present vnto him, if it so stode with his good liking and pleasure, whereof to vnderstand he then had sent him, and his fellowe there present. The king hearing this message, commaunded before he would make aunswere thereto, to giue to each of them a certeine peece of lynnen cloth made of Cotten, and two of silke whith were very good, and euen such wherewith he was accustomed to girdle himselfe: And after these peeces were so giuen them, he then demanded of Fernan Martyn, what king that was which hadde sent him those letters, and how farre from thence his kingdome was, whereunto Fernan aunswered and fully informed him touching that demaund, declaring also that he was

The king of Calicuts greatest reuenue riseth by custõe of Merchandise.

Certeine messẽgers sent by ỹ Captaine generall to ỹ king of Calicut

a Christian prince, & that all those whom he had sent were christians, hauing past many troubles and daungers vpon the sea, before their arriuall there at Calicut. The king hearing all the discourse of their voiage (whereof Fernan Martynes somwhat at large informed him) did greatly maruell at the same, & shewed himselfe to be right glad, ỹ a Prince of so great a power as the king of Portingale was, & being also a christian, would send an Ambassadour to him: And therefore he sent word to the Generall that he and his cõpanie were hartely welcome into his Countrie, requiring him to bring his ships to an ankor nére, to a village named Padarane (which is somwhat beneath the place where they first came to an ankor) being a far better harbour then that of Calicut, which is an open roade & very dangerous for the ships: And appointed that from thence, the Generall should go by land to Calicut, wher he wold be to speak with him: And therwõ he sent a Pilot, who conuaied the ships to the port of the same village, howbeit when he had conducted them to the bar thereof, the Generall would not enter so far within the same, as ỹ Pilot would gladly haue had him to haue done, fearing indéed that some thing might afterward happen to his preiudice, if he should giue ouer farre credit to those people, & came within the compasse of anye their forces, wherin he dealt very aduisedly and wisely, preuented such iniury as was offered him.

How the king of Calicut sent for the Captaine Generall and after what sort he was carried to Calicut. Cap. 16.



The Captaine being come nére to this harbour, his dispatch was sent him from ỹ Catuall of Calicut, in ỹ which there was signified ỹ he was come to Pandarane, by the kings commaundement, with other noble men, for to beare him company vnto Calicut, and therefore he might at all times when ỹ it should please

pleaſe him, diſimbarke himſelfe: But for ỹ the day was paſt ỹ Captaine Generall excuſed himſelfe as at ỹ preſent, & alſo ỹ he would firſt take counſell of his Captaines, & other the principall of his Fleet, touching his landing, who being all ioyned together, ſaid vnto them, ỹ he minded to go to ſée ỹ king of Calicut, & to ſettle there a trade, and a perpetuall friendſhip. Againſt the which his going, his brother repugned, alleadging ỹ it was not conuenient ỹ he ſhuld ſo doe. For albeit ỹ they were chriſtians, yet ỹ ther were amongſt them many Moores, which were to be feared leaſt thy wold procure his deſtruction, ſince that they were his mortall enimies. For when that they doe remember how thoſe of Monſambicke and Mombaſſa, for onely paſſing by theyr ports, would haue killed them all: What ſhould they looke for, of thoſe of Calicut, knowing that they will mixture themſelues with you & yours: quoth he, you ſéeking to haue the trade where they haue the ſame, & ſo to diminiſh this their profit and gaine? He tolde him therefore that it is the ſoner to be beléeued, that they wold procure with all their force poſſible to deſtroy him, yea, although they knew that the beginning and end of the ſame did depend vppon his death, and that therefore there wouldo not lacke wayes to put the ſame deuice in execution, who being once dead, for all the griefe the king ſhoulde take therewith, yet hée could not raiſe him againe to lyfe. And that ſo much the more they béeing as it were naturall inhabitauntes there, and he a méere ſtraunger.

Moores mortall enimies to chriſtians

Moreouer who doth know what the king doth paſſe for his death, and what ſhall become of them all after the ſame is procured. And if ſo be that they ſhuld be caſt away altogether, then were all theyr trauaile loſt. To excuſe all this, and that they might remaine vppon this good aſſuraunce, it were very good ſayd hée, that hée did not goe a ſhoare, but that hée did ſende one of them, or ſome other, who might doe that which he ſhoulde doe, for thoſe that are Captaines in eſpeciall ye Generalls ſhoulde not aduenture themſelues in ſuch daungers, but where there were ſuch

Princes & Generalls ought to be careful of their perſons in reſpect of their place and charge.

such great necessitie, that they coulde not otherwise excuse themselues. Of this minde were all the rest of the companie, vnto whome the Captaine Generall aunswered, that although he knew or did vnderstand ỹ by his comming it were present death vnto him, yet he woulde not let but goe and visit the king of Calicut, and the rather to see whether he would settle a friendship and trade there, and to haue out of his Citie, Spices and other commodities, for that the same (at our arriuall in Portingale) might represent as a witnesse the discouerie of Calicut. For if so be that at the end of so long a time God did returne vs thether without: then said he, it would be hard to be beléeued that wée had discouered Calicut: And our credit and honour woulde stand in suspence or ballance, vntill such time there should come persons of credit from thence, that shoulde declare that to bée true which we had affirmed. Therefore doe you not thinke but ỹ I had rather die then suffer so long time, as we haue spent, and are lyke to spend, and others shall come to discouer ỹ truth of our seruice: so that in the meane while, those that are enuious, should iudge our trauaile as it shuld please them, certeinly I had rather die then to tarrie vpon the same: Much more friends I doe not aduenture my selfe to so great a daunger of death as you do surmise, neither yet that they should remaine in so great danger, as you doe presuppose, for I goe to a Countrie where there are Christians and to talke with a king, which is desirous that vnto his Citie should come many Merchants, for the profit that doth arise thereby vnto him: for the more Merchants that do resort vnto it, the more wil be his profit. I doe not goe thether to stay there many daies that the Moores shall haue any such time to vse anye treason against me. And for so much as I doe minde to talke with the king it shall haue an end, and that within three dayes, and in this time you may be in a readinesse: And as touching the honour and credit that I shall get by making or establishing this trade, if it please God that he doe accept the same I will not giue it for any treasure. And the king

can

can settle the same with no other better then with me, for that he will esteeme me, and beare some reuerence towards me, being once knowen vnto him that I am the Captaine generall of this Fleete, and the King of Portingales Embassadour, rather then with any other person whatsoeuer. Furthermore whosoeuer he be that shall goe in my stede, the King will thinke himselfe to be mockt, or that I do not esteeme him, as one that is worthy that I shoulde goe to speake with him, or els that I doe not trust him on his word. Besides all this, I cannot giue so large instructions to him that I should send thether, that he might doe in all things which is needfull as much as I my selfe: and if so be that for my sinnes he shoulde kill me, or take me as a prisoner, it were a great deale better for me that ther shuld chaunce to me all this for doing of my duetie, then to remaine alyue, and not to doe the same. And you my friendes remaining in the Sea and in good ships, as sone as you shal heare that any of these things shall chaunce vnto me, get you hence, and carrie newes of this our discouerie, and as touching this, let there be no farther talke, for that I by the grace of God will goe to Calicut to see the King. When that his determination was perceiued, they all assented that they were contented with his going: and thereupon they appointed him twelue of his men to goe with him, that is to say, Diego Dias his Secretarie and Fernan Martines the interpretour, Iohn de Sala, which was afterward Treasurer of the house of the Indias, &c. So that with him in all they were thirteene. They appointed also that in his absence ther should remaine for Captaine generall his brother. Also he gaue commaundement that he shoulde not suffer any man to come aboord his ship, and all those that were desirous to goe aboord to commaund them to remaine in their boate or Almadias. Moreouer he left order with Nicholas Coello, that he should come euery day with his boate as neere vnto ỳ shore as he could. These things being setled, the next day after being Mundaye, the xviij. of May, the Captaine generall did imbark himself with those twelue before rehearsed,

The Generall determined to goe to Calicut

they all being apparailed in the beſt attire that they had, & their boats furniſhed with much more ordinance, flags, and trumpets, which went alwaies ſounding, vntill ſuch time ỹ ỹ Captaine general came to land, whereas ỹ Catual was tarrieng for him, being accompanied with 200 Nayres, which attended ther continually: beſides many others ỹ wer not of that company, & beſides many alſo, ỹ were of ỹ towne. The Captaine generall being diſimbarked, was ioyfully receiued of ỹ Catuall, & of ỹ others ỹ did accompany him, as though they were very glad of his comming, & after ỹ he was thus receiued, he was taken into an Andor, which ỹ King of Calicut had ſent to bring him vpon, for ỹ in this countrey they are not accuſtomed to goe a horſeback, but in theſe Andors, which are like vnto a horſlitter, ſauing ỹ they are wont any couer ouer them, & almoſt plaine, ỹ ſides therof are alſo very low. Each of theſe Andors, when they will occupie ỹ ſame, are caried wᵭ 4. men vpon their ſholders, which alſo doth runne poſt wᵭ thē, at ſuch time as ỹ king & noble men do make any great iourny, or if ſo be ỹ they wil go a great ground in a ſmall time: for they may trauell in ỹ ſame either ſitting or lieng, as they wil themſelues. Alſo ther go with theſe certain footmen, which carie with them hats, wher with to couer thoſe ỹ go in theſe Andors, which they do call Bueys, ſo that by this meanes, they are kept from ỹ ſunne & the raine, ther are alſo other Andors, ỹ which haue ouer thē a cane bowed like vnto a hoope, which for ỹ they are made very light, may eaſily carie thoſe 2. men. The Captaine generall being mounted in this Andor, departed wᵭ the Catuall, who was caried in another Andor, to a town called Capocats, but all ỹ reſt of the cōpany went afoote, the people of the countrey was cōmaunded by the Catuall to carie all ſuch apparel as our mē had brought vp wᵭ thē, which was ther redeliuered vnto thē, & being in Capocats, they ſtaid to refreſh themſelues: where the Captaine generall being in one houſe & the Catuall in another they did eate, & to al our men was giuen to eat ſodden fiſh, wᵭ rice & butter, beſides fruits of ỹ countrey, which differ from ours very much, yet they are very good. The one

The Captaine Generall goeth a lād.

the fruits of Calicut

ſort

sort of these is called Lacas, and the other Mangas, howbeit they haue figs also. The water ỹ they did drinke, was very excellent, as good as any in Portingall. Thus after they had eaten, they went againe to imbarke themselues, for that they should go vp a riuer, which from thence runneth into the sea: the Captaine generall did imbarke himselfe with his company into 2. Almadias, lieng the one close to the other, which in ỹ countrey they did call Enfangadas. The Catuall wt his traine were imbarked in many others, and the people that came to the riuers side to see and view our men were without number, for so much as that countrey is well inhabited. And after that they had gone in this riuer about a league, and that along the shores side, they saw lieng a ground many great ships, the Captaine generall with the Catuall being disimbarked, did returne to their Andors, and following their waye, there resorted alwayes about them thousandes of people to see them, wherein they toke such a felicitie that the very women also with their children hanging at theyr backes, did not feele the waye they went in, following to feed their eyes. From this place which I haue made mention of, the Catuall did carrie him vnto a certaine Pagode of their Idolls, into which when they were entred, he told him that the same was a Church of great deuotion, which the Captaine generall beleeued to be true, & to be some church of the Christians, & therfore he gaue the more credit thereunto, the rather for that he saw ỹ ouer the principall dore therof, there hanged seuen little bells, & afore the same there was a pillour made of wier, the which was as high as the maste of a ship, vpon the top thereof there stode a wether cock, made likewise of wier. This church was as great as a good Monestary, and was made all of free stone, and couered or vayled ouer with bricke; which gaue an outwarde shewe, as though within side it shoulde be of verye faire workmanshippe. Our Captaine was very glad to see the same, for he thought himselfe to be among Christians, and entering within this Church with the Catuall, they were receiued by certaine men, naked from the girdle vpwarde,

and from thence downe to the knée, couered with certaine linnen cloth made of cotten, with ẏ which their arme holes were couered alſo, without any thing vpon their heads, and vpon their left ſholders they had certaine number of thꝛids, which came vnder their right ſhoulders, much like as the Pꝛieſts were wont to weare their ſtoles hére amongſt vs, when they went to Maſſe. Theſe men are called Cafres and are Gentiles, which ſerue in Malabar in their Pagodes, who with a ſprinkle toke water out of a certaine fountaine & thꝛew the ſame vpon the Captaine generall & vpon the Catuall and on the reſt of the companye. After all this they gaue them Saunders in pouder to caſt the ſame vpon their heads as they did hére their Aſhes, & as alſo they ſhuld do ẏ like vpon ẏ bꝛawns of their armes, but they could not do ſo, by reaſon of their apparrel which they had on, but yet they did not let to doe it on their heads: ſo going about this Church, they ſaw many Images painted vpon ẏ wal, wher of ſome ther wer ẏ had great téeth, which appeared to be ſo monſtrous ẏ they were of an inch of length without their mouth. Others ther wer ẏ had foure armes, & therwith wer ſo ill fauoured, that they ſéemed to be very diuells, ẏ which ſight made our men ſtand in doubt, whether the ſame wer a Church of Chꝛiſtians oꝛ no. Being come afoꝛe the Chappel which ſtod in ẏ midſt of their Church, they perceiued ẏ the ſame had a certain little rofe, made much after ẏ manner of a tower, ẏ which was alſo builded of fré ſtone, & in a parte of this rofe ther was a doꝛe made of wire, by ẏ which a mã might enter into it: the going vp to the ſame tower, was by a ſtaire of ſtone: within this tower, which indéd was ſomewhat dark, was incloſed in ẏ wall a certain Image ẏ which our men beheld a far off, foꝛ ẏ they would not ſuffer thẽ to go nére ẏ ſame, ſaieng ẏ ther was none ẏ could go thether, but thoſe ẏ wer Cafres, howbeit they made a ſigne to the Image, naming ẏ ſame our Lady, giuing therby to vnderſtãd that it was hir Image. The Captain generall ſuppoſing the ſame to be true, fell vpon his knées, with ẏ reſt of ẏ cõpany making their pꝛaiers: but one whoſe name was Iohn de Sa-

Holy vvater of Calicut

Holy aſhes.

The Generall deceiued, cõmitteth Idolatry vvith the Diuell.

la,

la, being in doubt whether ẏ same church wer of christians or not, for ẏ he saw so mõstrous Images painted on ẏ wals, as he fel on his knées said, If this be ẏ diuel, I worship god. The Captaine Generall that heard him say so, looking vppon him laughing. The Catuall and his companie as they came before this Chappell, did fall downe flat vppon the ground with their hands before them, and this they did thrée times, and afterward they arose and made their praiers standing.

¶ How and after what sort the Captaine Generall was receiued in Calicut, & how hee tolde the king his message which he carried. Cap. 17.

From this place he went forward on his way, vntill such time he came to Calicut, and at the entering of the same, they carried him wͤ the rest of his company to another Pagode, lyke vnto that which he had séene before, and when that he would haue entered into the Citie, the people were so many, as well of those that came forth of the same for to sée our men, as also of those that went with him, that for the multitude of them, he could not goe in the stréets, insomuch that the Generall meruailed to sée so many people: and when as hée sawe himselfe to be there, he gaue God great thankes, for bringing him vnto that Citie, most humbly desiring him, so to guide him, that he might returne to Portingale, with his whole request & desire. After that he had gone awhile in that stréete, into which he entered, for that the people wer so many that he could not passe through it, insomuch that those that did carry him vpon his Andor, were driuen to go with the Catuall into a house. Thether came to beare the Captaine Generall companie, the Catualls brother who was a noble man, and sent by the kings commaundement to accompanie him to the kings pallaice, who also brought with him many Nayers, and before them went manye Trumpets and Sagbuts, vppon the which they went all

ſounding. And alſo there was one Nayre which carried a Calœuer which he ſhot of, now & then. After ẏ the Captaine generall & this noble man was thus ioyfully receiued, they toke their way ſtraight to ẏ pallaice, with a great noiſe, ẏ which thoſe inſtruments & the people together made, which after ẏ the Catuals brother was come, gaue place & followed after them, with as great obedience as if ẏ king had ben there in his owne perſon. There went along with thẽ fully three thouſand men with their weapons, beſides thoſe ẏ ſtod vpon ẏ penthouſes, & at their doores, which wer wout number. The Captaine generall was very glad to ſee how well he was receiued, & ſaid vnto thoſe ẏ he caried wt̃ him, with a merry coũtenance, how litle do they thinke in Portingale of this our great receiuing, & with this they came to ẏ kings pallace an houre before ẏ Sun ſet. The kings pallace (leauing aſide ẏ the ſame was made of earth) was very great, which ſeemed to be of a goodly building, for ẏ great multitude of trees which did appeare betweene ẏ houſes, & theſe wer ſtãding in goodly gardẽs, in ẏ which wer pleſãt flowrs, ſweet hearbs, & foũtains of water to recreate ẏ king wall, for ẏ he neuer goeth frõ this pallace til ẏ he departeth from Calicut. Out of this pallace there came ſũdry Cairmales, & other noble men to receiue ẏ captain general, which brought him to a certein great court ẏ was right before ẏ gates, & frõ thence they wẽt into 4. other ſeueral yards or courts. At ẏ gate of each of which, ther wer .x. porters, which gates they paſſed wt̃ giuing ẏ people many & ſũdry blows, which ẏ porters beſtowed vpõ thẽ to make rome, ẏ we might go in: & being come to ẏ laſt gate which was in ẏ houſe where the king himſelf was, ther came forth an old little man, which was Bramene Maior of ẏ kings houſe, who imbraced the captaine general, & caried him in wt̃ thoſe ẏ wer with him. Bramene Maior is the kings high Prieſt, & the chiefeſt of the religious mẽ of his gentility. At this entring the people wonderfully preſſed thẽſelues to go in, for that they ſee the king but by great chaunce, as going but few times abroad out of his pallace, & wold therfore haue entered wt̃ our mẽ to ſee him. The multitude was ſo great ẏ there wer ſome of

The deſciptiõ of the kings pallaice.

then

thē stifled, as also ther had ben two of our mē so vsed, if so be ẏ they had not gone before, & it had smally profited to lay on ẏ people wͭ their staues to ẏ end to make more roome, if so be ther had not ben many of thē hurt, wherwͭ they gaue place ẏ our mē might enter. Moreouer those noble mē which did accompany the Captaine general, at this third gate entred into the house wher the king was, the which was very great: all the same was cōpassed about wͭ seats made of timber, one aboue ẏ other as the Theatres are: the floore of the same was al couered ouer wͭ gréene veluet, & the hangings about the wals were of silke of sundry colours. The king himself was of colour brown, & of a great stature & of good yeres, he was lieng vpon his Estrado ẏ which was couered ouer wͭ a cloth of white silke & gold & a rich estate ouer him, Estrado is a seat made of boords. On his head he had a night cap, made much like vnto a salet, after ẏ old sort which was couered ouer wͭ stone & pearle, & in his ears he ware iewels of ẏ same sort. He had vpō him a iacket of fine cotten, ẏ buttons wherof were of great pearle, & the butten holes were of gold thréed, he had about his middle a white cloth made of ẏ forsaid cottē, ẏ which reched down vnto his knées, ẏ fingers of his hāds & toes wer ful of rings of gold, in ẏ which were set very fine stone, & on his armes & legs many bracelets of golde: hard to this Estrado, there was a certein yewer ẏ which had a high foot wrought al of gold, & is of ẏ making of ẏ Flanders cups, & that plaine, albeit they are greater & not so déepe: in this was ẏ Vitele which the king doth chaw in his mouth, wͭ salt & Axeca, which is an apple no bigger thē a nut in conserua. This is eatē in all ẏ Indias, for ẏ the same doth make a good breth, drieth ẏ stomack & killeth ẏ thirst, which being chawed in péeces hée throweth ẏ same out of his mouth, & taketh another. And for ẏ the king shuld not swallow ẏ same downe, there is prepared a vessel of gold for him to spit in, which is as big or litle bigger thē a dish, hauing a foot also of gold. Also he hath a fountaine of gold which is ful of water wherwͭ hée washeth his mouth, when he had made an end of chawing this Vitele which he is accustomed to take.

The description of ẏ kings presence chamber.

the kings Vitele.

This

This Vitele is miniſtred vnto him by an olde man which ſtandeth hard by the Eſtrado, all the others that are in this place holde their left hands afore their mouths, to the end their breath ſhould not come where the king is, who taketh the ſame for great diſcurteſie, to ſpit or to ſneeſe, & therefore there is none that breatheth afore the king. The Captaine Generall being come into this houſe, made reuerence to the king, after the vſe of the Countrie, which is to ſtope or bowe downe three times, lifting vp his hands as one that praiſeth God. The king immediatly made ſignes vnto him as willing him to drawe nere vnto him, and commaunded him to ſit downe in one of thoſe ſeates which I haue ſpoken of, who being thus ſet, the reſt of his men did enter and made him the lyke reuerence, whom the king commaunded likewiſe to ſit down right ouer againſt him, and that there ſhould be giuen them water for their hands, that they might with the ſame refreſh themſelues ſince they were very hot, for although it was winter yet it was hot. After ỹ they had waſhed their hands, he commaunded to be giuen them Figges and Iacas to eate, and that forthwith, which they did receiue with a good will. The king was very glad to ſee them eate, who was very earneſt in loking vpon them, and did laugh thereat. Afterward hee toke occaſion to talke with the old man that miniſtred vnto him this Vitele, and in the meane time our men did cal for water, for that they were a thirſt, the which was giuen them to drinke by an Pewer of golde, and when our men did vnderſtand ỹ order of their drinking was to hold their cup of height ouer their mouths, for ỹ the Malabars do take the ſame for an iniurie to touch ỹ cup with their lips, they did therfore hold the ſame ouer their mouth, in that order that part of the water fell into their throates & made ſome of them to cough, & vnto others it fell beſides their mouths, and vpon their faces, which did runne downe vppon theyr breaſts. All this the king was very gladde to ſee, who loking towards the Captaine Generall, ſpake vnto him by an interpretour, willing him to ſpeak vnto thoſe that were

The cuſtome in drinking.

there

there, & to tell them his pleasure, & likewise to report vnto him of theirs, with this the Captaine Generall was nothing contented, for ỹ he thought the same a disgracing vnto him, & answered by ỹ interpretor ỹ he was the king of Portingales Ambassadour, which was a mighty king, & that the christian princes did not vse to receiue their imbassage by a third person, but by themselues, & that before very few, & those ỹ were of great credit. And for that he did accustome the same order in ỹ other countries from whence he came, he wold not therfore vtter his imbassage but only vnto ỹ king himself, vnto which the king answered ỹ he liked wel therof, & that it shuld be so obserued, & immediatly he commaunded the Captaine Generall & Fernan Martines to be carried vnto another chamber which was adorned with ỹ like estate as the other was, & as wel hanged, & after ỹ the Captaine general was ther, ỹ king came thether also, but our men remained where they wer first, & this was about the Sun set. The king as soone as he was come into this chamber went to his Estrado, there came no more with him but his interpretor & the Bramene Mayor, & the olde man which doth alwayes giue this Vitele vnto ỹ king, & controler of his house. The king & they being ther together, he asked of ỹ captain general of what part of ỹ world he was & what he wold haue: whervnto he answered, that he was an Ambassadour of a christian king of ỹ Occident part, & of a kingdome called Portingale, besides many others, insomuch ỹ he is of a great power both in possessions & people, & much more in riches, & all other things necessarie, more then any other king of those parts, & hath so ben for ỹ space of these .xx. yeres, so ỹ those ỹ haue ben kings his predecessours, hauing the same brought vnto them, how ỹ in the Indias there were christian kings & great noble men, in especiall ỹ king of Calicut, they were moued the rather to send to discouer ỹ same by their Captaines, & to make friendship with the king of ỹ country, & to take them for brothers as reason doth bind the king his Maister now to do, & to visit them by his Ambassadors, not ỹ he hath any need of their

The message that vvas sent to ỹ king of Calicut from ỹ king of Portingal

riches, for that in his owne countries of golde & ſiluer and other things of great value, he hath more therof then néede did require. And as for thoſe Captaines whom he did ſend vnto this diſcouerie, they haue gone in the ſame a yeare or two, vntill ſuch time as they haue conſumed their victuals and without finding of that which they ſought for, haue returned to Portingale, & haue in vaine ſpent great ſums of money. But the king Don Manuel which reigneth as now, & is deſirous to make an end of this enterpriſe, which was begun ſo long time agone, for that to them ther ſhuld not lack ſufficient victuals, as there did vnto the others before, did therfore giue him three ſhippes that were laden therwith, commaunding him not to returne to Portingale without the diſcouery of that king of the chriſtians which is Lord of Calicut. And if ſo be ỹ he ſhuld returne without bringing him relation therof, he would then commaund his head to be cut off. And further he willed him ỹ if ſo be ỹ he ſhould chaunce to arriue at the place where the king was, to deliuer him two letters, which he wold preſent vnto him the next day, for ỹ it was then ſomwhat late. And alſo that he ſhould tell him that he was his friend & brother, requeſting him that ſince that he doth ſend ſo far of to ſéeke him out, that in recompence thereof he would accept of his kindred, and friendſhip, and alſo that he woulde ſend him his Ambaſſadour for the better confirmation of the ſame, and ỹ frō thence forth they wold viſit one the other with their embaſſadours, as it is accuſtomed amongſt chriſtian kings.

An Ambaſſadour promiſed from Calicut.

The king ſhewed himſelfe to bée well pleaſed with this Embaſſage, for he tolde the Captaine Generall that hée was very well welcome. And ſince that the king of Portingale would be his friend & brother, he would be the like vnto him, and vpon the ſame wold ſend him his Embaſſadour, which thing the Captaine Generall did deſire moſt earneſtly, for that he durſt not ſhew himſelfe afore ỹ king his Maſter wout him. The king did therfore promiſe him ſo to do, & that forthwith, he wold diſpatch him thether. After ỹ he was deſirous to know ỹ whole eſtate of ỹ king of

Por-

Portingale perticularly, & how far of ỹ countrie laye from Calicut, & how long he had ben vpon that voiage. And for ỹ part of the night was well spent, ỹ king willed him to retire, demaunding of him first, whether he would goe lye amongst the Moores or amongst the Christians, who answered that he wold lye with neither of them, but alone, & by himself. The king vpon his answere commanded a certein Moore which was his factor to go & accompany ỹ Captaine generall, & cõmanded to giue him al things ỹ wer necessary.

How the Captaine Generall was minded to sende a present to the king, but his company would not consent to the same, & how the Moores began to bring the Captaine generall out of credit with the king. cap. 18.

THe Captaine generall being dispatched to go toward his lodging (although ỹ foure houres of the night were past) the Catual & the others ỹ had accompanied him before, did now the like, & they all going afoot, ther fell such raine, that ỹ streets ran full therof, & therefore he was driuen to cõmaund some of his men to carry him vpon their backs, (not for the water only) but for ỹ it would be late or euer ỹ he could come to his lodging, with this ỹ Captaine general was so angry, ỹ he complained vpon ỹ kings Factor, demaunding whether he meant to carry him about the citie all ỹ night or not, who answered ỹ he could do no otherwise, for ỹ ỹ city was great & scattered, & so he carried him to his owne house, to rest himselfe a while. And afterward he gaue him a horse, vpon ỹ which he might ride. And for ỹ this horse was vñout a saddle, ỹ Captaine wold not accept the offer, saieng, ỹ yet rather he wold go a foot, & so he went vntill such time he came to his lodging, where those ỹ did accompany him, left him in a good lodging. And before his comming, his men had brought thether his stuffe, where ỹ Captaine generall hauing rested himselfe, & being in great ioy to see so good beginning of his businesse, determined on the next day being Tewsdaie, to send a present to the king.

And for that he knew he could not ſend the ſame, but that the Factor and the Catuall ſhould haue the ouerſight therof, did therefore ſende for them that they might haue the view thereof, who being come, he ſhewed the ſame vnto them, which was foure Capuſis of graine, and fiue hattes, foure braunches of Cozall, twelue Almaſares, a fardell of Bzaſſe, in the which there were ſeauen peeces, a Cheſt of Sugar, two Barrels of Dile, & two of honnie. The Factor and the Catuall hauing ſeene theſe parcels, began to laugh therat, ſaieng, that ỹ ſame was nothing to preſent the king withall, for that the pooreſt Merchant that commeth to his port doth giue him much more then the ſame, wiſhing him that ſince he would needs giue him a preſent, to ſende him ſome golde, for that the king ſhoulde not accept any other thing. At this their anſwere the Captaine generall was offended, & ſo he ſhewed himſelfe to be, ſaieng, that if ſo be he were a Merchaunt or that his comming thether were to trade, he would then haue brought him golde: But he was no Merchaunt but an Ambaſſadour, which was the cauſe he brought none with him, & that this which he doth now ſend to ỹ king of Calicut, is his own goods, & not ỹ king his Maiſters, who for that he did not certeinly know that hee ſhould haue met with the king of Calicut, did therfore giue him nothing to preſent him withal: but at his next returne knowing for certeintie that he ſhall finde him, the king his Maiſter will ſend him golde, ſiluer, & other rich things. To this they anſwered and ſayd that it might be ſo, howbeit it was accuſtomed in that countrie, ỹ whatſoeuer ſtranger he be that doth come & ſpeake with the king, he ſendeth him a preſent, which is according to ỹ greatnes of his eſtate. Unto which the Captaine generall did reply, ſaieng ỹ it was good ỹ their cuſtome ſhuld be kept, & that for the preſeruatiõ of the ſame, he did make him this preſent, which is of no greater value, for the cauſe aboue ſaid: And therefore he deſired them to ſuffer him to carrie the ſame to the king, which if ſo be ỹ they would not let him doe that, then hee would ſend the ſame backe to his ſhippes againe.

A preſent for ỹ king of Calicut.

They

They aunswered him that immediately he might so do, as he last determined, for that they would not consent that the same should be carried to the King. With this aunswere the Captaine generall was very angry, and said vnto them, that since they would not consent that he should sende that present to the King, he would therefore go himselfe & speak with him, and would now returne to his ships. This was his meaning, to enforme the King what had past about this present. They said ý it was well done so to do, but for so much as they should remaine with him in the Court a good while, it were for them very necessary to goe about a little businesse in the meane space, which they will go to doe, and immediately retourne to goe with him, since that the King wold not be pleased that he should go without them: for so much as he was a straunger, and for that there were many Moores in the Citie. The Captaine generall giuing credite to their woords concerning their retourne, immediately aunswered them that he would tarry for their comming: but they did not returne all that daye, for that they were enimies to the Captaine generall, by reason of the Moores, who were his enimies also, and had receiued newes what he had done in Monsambicke, and of the taking of the Sambuco in Mylynde, and that we were Christians, and that our comming was to discouer Calicut. Bontaybo also told the Moores, that Spices were esteemed in Portingale very much, and that as he iudged they wer not come to discouer Calycut, but to settle there a trade, and to carrie Spices into their Countrey, in the which there is of all sorts of Merchaunts that come to Calycut by the way of the straights, and great store of golde and siluer, and hauing the Trade setled there, would redowne vnto the King great profite thereby. To the which woords the Moores gaue great care, and made their reckoning vpon Bontaybos speach, and allowed the same: That we being Christians and once come to settle a Trade in Calycut, their commoditie then would fall of the price they were at, and so would abate the most part of their gaine. About this they layed their heads toge-

Treason conspired against the fleete

ther, to worke all meanes they could poſſible with the king, to take the Captaine generall priſoner, and to commaunde his ſhips to be taken alſo, and to kill all our men, and this the rather, for that in no wiſe they ſhould retourne to Portingale, to carry newes of Calicut. And hærevpon they ioyned thoſe that were in credit with the King, and went vnto him, and one in the name of them all, ſaid vnto the king: That he ſhoulde not deceiue himſelfe with our men, for that the Captaine Generall was no Embaſſadour but a thæfe, that went to rob, which they knew for moſt certaine by their Factors, which had certified them, that aſſoone as we were come to Monſambicke, wher the Xeque went to viſite the Captaine generall aboord his ſhippe, and ſent him preſents, and eſtabliſhed with him friendſhip, and alſo giuing him a Pilot to carrie him to Calicut, whether he ſaid that he would goe. He after this ſhot his Ordinaunce at the towne, with the which he killed of his Subiects, and toke certaine Sambucos laden with Merchaunts, and handeled both him and his like vnto Enimies. And being departed from thence to Mombaſſa, likewiſe vnder ỹ color of friendſhip, ſaieng that he was bound towarde Calicut, the King therevpon toke occaſion to ſend to viſite the Captaine generall aboord his ſhip, requeſting him to enter into his harbour, who being determined ſo to doe, whether that it was for that he ſaw within the ſame many ſhips, or ỹ he thought he could not make his partie good, did flye away ſo faſt, that he left one of his Ankors behinde him: and from thence alſo the Pilot ran away, which he caried from Monſambick, for the ill lyfe which he lead with him, with whipping of him, and putting of him vnto other puniſhment. And being departed from Mombaſſa, and come nære vnto Mylynde, did take perforce a Sambuco laden with Mores, of ỹ which there were ſome that dyed in the battaile, & others that are yet aliue remaining captiues. And for that thoſe that were captiues willed him to carry them to Mylynde, ſaieng, that there they would giue him a newe Pilot to carrye him to Calycut, by that meanes onely he came thether. And hauing

the Mores oratiõ to the king

there

there by the king of Mylynde bene receiued very well, yet the Captaine generall would no more come a lande, fearing the hurts which he had done, and taking the More prisoner which the king had sent to visit him, and would not deliuer him, vntill such time that he had a Pilot sent him. Wher by it might well be considered, that if so be that he were an Embassadour and were come to maintaine peace, he would neuer haue vsed those disorders, but wold haue brought the king a present with him. Of this his demeanour, we giue thee to vnderstand, as our dutie bindeth vs, that now thou maist doe as thou shalt thinke good therein. With this newes the king remained amazed, and told the Mores that he would determine himselfe what shall be thought most conuenient: they seeing this, thought the same not to be the waye to cause the king to doe as they would haue him, and did afterward tell the Catuall thereof, who was in great credite with the king, requesting him to perswade with the king, not to receiue any such Embassage as that was, and the cause thereof the rather was, that he toke this present for so small a valew. With this the Catuall went immediately to the king, who told him what the Mores had said, to whom the Catuall gaue counsaile, to doe as the Mores had requested him: immediately the king began to change his countenaunce against the Captaine generall, but not so much as the same might be perceiued. But as soone as the Mores had knowledge by the Catuall concerning the present that the Captaine generall would haue sent to ỹ king, and that he would not consent therevnto, the Mores toke occasion to go to ỹ Generalls lodging with a fained friendship offering themselues to instruct him what he should best doe, and talking with him they sayd, that in that Country it was accustomed that those the which came from other places about businesse with the king, shoulde bring him a Present, and therefore it were good that hee did sende him one. The Captaine Generall beeing offended with that iniurye they hadde offered him, and that the Catuall and the kings Factour would not consent therevnto,

The king remaineth doubtfull vvhat to doe.

The fained friendshippe of the Mores

did vpon the ſame take occaſion to ſhew them thoſe peeces, the which he was minded for to ſend, who hauing ſeene the ſame, they ſaide to the Generall, that the Catuall and the Factor had great reaſon to be offended thereat, for that the ſame was not a preſent for to be ſent to a King, neyther would they willy him to ſend it, for that it would be iudged that by the ſending thereof he did mocke the King: All this they tolde him, and as they ſaid as friends, in ſhewing him their minde. Bontaybo told him alſo in the ſame manner, meruailing what was the cauſe he brought no other things, ſince there was plentie of all things in Portingale? But the Captaine generall excuſed himſelfe, ſaieng: that he was not certaine that he ſhould come to Calycut.

¶ How the Captaine generall returning ſpake with the King of Calycut, & how he gaue him licenſe to returne vnto his ſhips. Chap. 19.

ALL this daye the Captaine generall was greatly offended, for that the Catuall & the Factor were not returned, ſo that he was once determined to goe to the Court with out them, yet he thought beſt to tarry till the nert daye, on which in the afternoone they came, with whome he ſhewed himſelfe to be offended for their long tarrieng. But they did aunſwere him touching that matter nothing at all, but talked of other things, and ſo went with him to the Court. And for that the King was ſomewhat chaunged, as I haue ſaid, againſt the Captaine Generall, he did not commaund him to come into his preſence in thꝛée houres after his comming to the Courte, and then commaundement was giuen ther ſhould come no more in with the Embaſſadour but two of his owne men, with the which he was offended, for ỹ he thought the ſame ſeperating from his men, was not meant well, did therfore

carry

carry with him Fernan Martines, and one Diego Dias, the which was his Secretary. Being come where the King was, he did not receiue him so well as at the first time, but said vnto him with a seuere countenaunce, that he had tarried for him all the day before, and he came not. The Captaine generall answered, that he did deferre his comming, for that he found himselfe weary by reson of the long way, for he was very loath to tell him the cause why he staid, for that he woulde not giue the King occasion to talke of the present that he would haue sent him: But it did well appeare that the Catuall and the Factor would not haue hindred the sending of the same vnto the King, but for ỹ they well knew, he would haue made small account thereof. And also they must of force haue told him that they had séne the same. Neuertheleſſe it coulde not be excused, but that the King spake vnto the Captaine generall thereof immediately saieng: how that he had tolde him that he was belonging to a great and rich King, and yet he brought no present from him, but an Embassage of friendship onelye, and therefore he could not tell what friendship he woulde haue with him, since that he did send him nothing. Vnto this the Captaine generall did answere, that there was no maruel that he did bring him nothing, for that he came not in assuraunce that he should méete with him. But now since that he hath séne him he should well perceiue what his King & Maſter will hereafter sende him, if so be that God wil giue him leaue to carry newes of this his discouery. And if so be that he will giue credite to his Letters which hée did bring with him, he shall then sée what the King doeth send him word of. The King in stéede of demaunding his Letters, asked him whether the King his Maſter did sende him to discouer stones or men, and if so be that he did send him to discouer men, how doth it chaunce then that hée sent him no present. And since that it is manifeſt that hée had brought him nothing, he sayd as then that it was told him that he had a Sancta Maria in golde, requesting of him the same.

The king quarrelleth with the Captaine Generall.

The Captaine generall was partly aſhamed to ſée the King ſo altered, for that he had not brought him a preſent. And now moreouer to demaund without all honeſtie that Image. To whom he aunſwered, that the Sancta Maria, which they tolde him of, was made of woode, and gylded ouer and not of Maſſie golde. And although that it were (yet would he not depart therewith) forſomuch as the ſame had preſerued him in the Sea, and had brought the ſame from his Countrey. The King did not reply vpon this anſwere, but demaunded thoſe Letters the which the King had ſent him: whereof the one was in the Portingale tongue, the other in the Arabian language. Theſe he tolde him were ſent in this order, for that the King his Maſter did not know whether of theſe two langauges was vnderſtode in his Countrey. Wherefore he deſired that ſince the Portingale language was not vnderſtod in his Countrey but the Arabian, and that there were Chriſtians of the Indias that did vnderſtand the ſame, one of thoſe might read his Letter, and the rather for that the Moores are enimies to the Chriſtians, of whom he was afeard, leaſt that they ſhould chaunge the ſenſe thereof. The King commaunded them ſo to bée read: howbeit there could be founde no Indian that coulde read the ſame, or at the leaſt would ſhew himſelfe that hée could read them. The Captaine generall ſeeing that there was no other remedy, but ỹ the Moores muſt néeds read the ſame, was driuen then to requeſt the King, that Bontaybo might be one of them. This was done, for ỹ as he thought he would ſpeake and vſe more truth then the others, for the acquaintaunce they had with him. The King commaunded the ſame to be read by other thrée, who hauing read ỹ ſame firſt of all to themſelues, & afterward with a loude voyce declared to the King the effect thereof, the which was, That as ſone as the King of Portingale had knowledge, ỹ he was one of the mightieſt Princes of all the Indias, & a Chriſtian, he was deſirous to haue a trade & a frienſhip with him, for that he might haue out of his Countrey, Spices, the which he hath in great plentie, for which there commeth di-

The effect of ỹ king of Portingales Letters to the king of Calycut

uers

uers from many places of the world thether to buy ẏ same. And therefore if so be he will giue him license to sende for the same, that then he wil send vnto him from his kingdome many things which he hath not in his, as his Captaine generall and Embassadour will tell him. And if so bee that with those things he were not pleased, he will sende him money both of golde and siluer to buy them withall, & how that as well of his Merchaundize as of the money, ẏ Captaine generall could shew him part. The King hearing this, as he was desirous that for the increase of his rents there should come many Merchaunts vnto Calycut, shewed himself to be wel pleased with this letter, & also made vnto the Captaine generall a better countenaunce then he did before, & asked him what Merchaundize ther were in Portingale. He named many, shewing how that of all he had brought with him part, and also of their money, requesting him license to goe aboard for the same, and in the meane while he wold leaue in his lodging foure or fiue of his men. The King giuing more credite to that which he spake, then to that the Moores had told him, said vnto him, ẏ he might go in a good houre, & carie his men with him, for there was no necessitie that they should remaine a lande, & that he should bring his Merchandize, & sell them as well as he could. With this license he remained well content, for (as he saw ẏ King make him at the first an ill countenance) so he thought ẏ he wold not haue giuen him ẏ same, & with this license he went first to his lodging, being by ẏ Kings commandement accompanied with the Catuall: and forsomuch as that daye was all spent, he would not goe aboard that night.

¶ How the Captaine generall hauing license of the King to go to his ships, was staid by the Catuall in Pandarane. Chap. 20.

THe next daye after, which was the last daye of Maye, the Catuall sent to the Captaine generall a Horse, howbeit without anye furniture to the same, vpon which hée might goe to Pandarane: And for that the Horse came after that order, he would

not accept his offer, but rather requeſted him for one of his Andors, the which he ſent him immediately, and on the ſame he went to Pandarane, and all his men came after him on foote. There went to beare him company many Nayres, the Catuall did remaine in Calicut, and when the Moores had notice that he ſhould there ſtaye, and that the Captaine generall was gone towards his ſhips, ſuppoſing that he went for altogether, were ſore amazed therewith, wherevpon the Moores toke occaſion to goe to the Catuall, with large offers of money to purſue the Captaine generall, and vnder a fained pretence to lay hands vpon him and to take him priſoner, for that they would finde occaſion to kill him: and he by this meanes ſhoulde remaine in no fault thereof at all. And albeit that the King would punish him forſomuch as he did keepe him priſoner, yet they would not feare but to get him his pardon. With this bribe and promiſe he did depart immediately, and went in ſuch haſt after him, that hée paſt by our men which did remaine behinde the Captaine generall, for that they were not able to goe much, by reaſon of the heate. The Catuall hauing ouertaken the Captaine generall, aſked him why he did make ſo much haſt, or wher he wer now running away: this was ſpoken by ſignes, ỹ which the Captaine generall did vnderſtand, who aunſwered him alſo by ſignes that he did runne away to flye the heat. And being come to Pandarane, for that his men as yet did not appeare, the Captaine generall tolde the Catuall that hée would not goe into the village, vntill his men were come, and there he tarried for them in a houſe, wherein he reſted himſelfe from the raine: howbeit they came not vntill it was almoſt Sunne ſet, for ſo long he did tarry for them becauſe they had loſt their waye. But after that they were come, the Captaine generall tolde them, that then it was not time to leaue him, whereas if ſo be that they hadde come ſooner, hée hadde bene as then in his Shippe.

the Mores make a newe conſpiracie.

Wherevppon, immediatelye hée did demaunde of the Catuall a Boate or Pinnace for to goe aboorde in, who for that hée pretended an other thing, aunſwered him,

him, that it was verye late, and that the shippes did ride farre, and going in the night he might misse them, and therfore that it were a great deale better to tarie vntill ỹ nert day. To ỹ which the Captaine generall made him a plaine answere, that if so be that he would not giue him an Almadias or Pinnace, he woulde immediatly returne to the king & complain vpon him, forsomuch as the king had sent him to his ships, and he would séeme to slay him, which was very ill done, since that he was a Christian as they were. This was spoken with such a coulour as if he wold haue returned to Calicut. The Catuall for to dissemble with him the more, did make him a countenance as though he would giue him thirtie Almadias, if he woulde haue so many. Howbeit he tolde him that he did counsell him for the best, and to remaine. But if so be that he would goe he was contented therewith. Thus on one parte he sent to séeke out Almadias or Pinnaces, and on the other part commaunded the owners of the same to hide themselues out of the way because they shuld not deliuer the same. In the meane season whilo they went to séeke those Pinnaces, the Captaine Generall went along the water side, and for that he had an euill suspition of their dealing, for that which they had done to him in Calicut, he commaunded Gonsallo Peres, a Marriner, with other two of his men, to go before as fast as they could, & see if they could finde Nicholas Coello wt his boats to wil him to kéepe himself out of the way, forsomuch as he was afeard least ỹ the Catual wold send to take his boats, with all those that were with him in the same, Gonsallo Peres with the other went about that businesse whilest the Catuall went in the meane season so leaserly to prouide for this boat, that the night drew on, so that it was three houres within night ere he coulde heare of any thing what hée had done, and what for that & also to tarrye the comming of those that went to Nicholas Coello, the Captaine Generall was the willinger to stay there that night. After that the Catuall had placed the Generall in a Moores house, tolde him that he woulde

Dissimulation in ỹ Catuall

goe to ſæke out Gonſallo Peres, & the other two that went with him. Howbeit he came not backe till it was the morning. And as ſoone as the Captaine Generall had ſight of him, immmediatly he required a boate for to goe in vnto his ſhippes. But as ſoone as the Catuall heard him, he then ſpake vnto his Nayres that were there preſent in his language, who afterward willed the Captaine Generall to commaunde his ſhips to be brought nére vnto the ſhoare, and that being done he ſhoulde haue licenſe to goe his waye, with this the Captaine Generall was somewhat afearde, howbeit he aunſwered him with a ſtout ſtomacke, that as long as he was on land, he would commaund no ſuch matter to be done, forſomuch as then his brother woulde iudge him to remaine in priſon, and that he did commaunde the ſame to be done more for feare then any thing els, wherupon he wold immediatly depart toward Portingal, without him.

The Catuals purpoſe opened.

To this the Catuall made anſwere with the others that were with him, ſpeaking with a ſtoutneſſe, that if ſo be that he would not doe that which was willed him to doe, ý then they will not let him go a boord. To the which ſhewing himſelfe to be therewith offended, he made anſwere that if ſo be that they would not let him go, that then he wold returne to the king of Calicut, and make his complaint, who if then he would ſtey him in his countrie, ý then he would be verie glad to dwel in the ſame. The Catuall therevpon willed him ſo to do, & to goe to the king to make his complaint, but yet for all his faieng he would not conſent therevnto, for that he had commaunded the doores of his lodging to be kept ſhut, placing within the ſame ſundry Nayres with their weapons. And if ſo that any of our men would goe forth, there were appointed many of the enimyes to withſtand them. Neuertheleſſe it was Gods pleaſure that the Catuall durſt not venture to kill the Captaine Generall, nor yet any of his men for all that the Moores hadde bribed him with a great ſumme of money, and for all that hée was in great credit with the king, for hée ſtode in ſuch a

feare

feare thereof, that he durst not doe it.

The cause why he required the shippes to be brought to the shoare side was, for that they being there, the Moores might the better laye the same a boorde, and so take them and kill all those that were within them, which thing for that it did so manifestly appeare to the Captaine Generall, he would not commaund the Shippes to bée brought anye nérer. And also for that the same was so apparaunt vnto the others of his men that were with him. They gaue him counsaile not to deale therein. The Catuall séeing that he would not commaunde those Shippes to bée brought nére the shoare, and for that there was no cause to staye him or offer him any wrong, and séeing that hée could not kill him, did then beginne to request him to bring his Sailes and the Rudder of the Shippes a lande. With that the Captaine Generall beganne to laugh, saying, that he would neither doe the one, nor yet the other, since that the king did giue him frée license to goe without any condition.

And therefore hée willed him to doe what he would, and how that of all the iniuryes which hée had offered him, the king shoulde bée made priuie, who he knewe woulde doe him iustice, but yet for all this, both hée and his remayned in some feare of suspect, although they did not outwardly shew the same.

At length the Captaine Generall with the rest feigning themselues to be an hungred, and that they were vnprouided of victualls, did request him that some of his men might goe to prouide the same, and hée woulde remaine alone, but for all that the Catuall woulde not agrée thereunto. Nowe our men béeing in feare to sée themselues in such a daunger. Then came Gonsallo Peres, supposing that the Captaine Generall had ben at his liberty, and that they were tarrieng for him and the others, who tolde him that hée hadde mette with Nicholas Coello, and with the others which tarryed for him with theyr Boates a lande.

The Generals vneffectuall excuse.

This

This newes being brought to the Captaine Generall, hée was afeard leaſt the Catuall ſhould know thereof, which if he had knowne indéed he would haue ſent Pinnaces and many men in them, for to haue taken them. Therefore did he procure by all the meanes he could, that Gonſallo Peres ſhoulde ſecretlye returne, from thence vnto their ſhippes, and put themſelues in good order. And alſo that he ſhould goe with them and informe them in what caſe he doth remaine. Nicholas Coello hauing receiued this diſpatch, did forthwith depart, and that in haſt, and immediatly after he was departed, the Catuall was aduertiſed thereof, who ſent after him ſundrie Pinnaces well appointed, but yet they could not ouertake him, and therefore they returned againe vnto the Catuall. Then the Catuall after that they were come did once more requeſt the Captaine Generall to write vnto his brother to bring the ſhippes nére to the lande, but he could not perſwade the Captaine Generall ſo to doe, ſaieng that if he ſhould doe it, yet his brother would not conſent thereunto, and although he would, yet he knew that the companye would not. To this the Catuall did replye, that he ſhoulde not make him beléeue that, forſomuch as he did well know that all things ſhould be done as he would commaund. Howbeit the Captaine Generall wold write no ſuch letter, for that he was afeard of the bringing of the ſhips ſo nére the ſhoare, for the cauſes aboue mentioned.

Gonſallo Peres ſent back to the ſhips

¶How the Catuall was contented that the Captaine Generall ſhould goe to his ſhips, & after that what chaunced. cap. 21.

After this ſorte they ſpent that day, in the which our men remained in great feare, forſomuch as in the night they were put in a great yarde that was vnderfote layed with Brick, and compaſſed about with walles, & alſo had to kéepe them far more men

men then they had in the day. Then the Captaine Generall perceiued by the countenance of his men ẏ they feared leaſt they ſhuld be departed ẏ one from ẏ other ẏ next day after, as he himſelfe ſuſpected the lyke, although he gaue no outward ſhew thereof, but rather had a confidence, that as ſone as the king of Calicut had knowledge after what ſorte they were ſtayed, would commaunde them to be releaſed, for that he did neuer vſe with him double dealing, it was thought that the Catuall did ſtaye the Captaine Generall after this order, becauſe he ſhould giue him ſome reward. And for that he would giue as it were no outwarde ſhew that he was offended, he would néeds come to ſupper to him that night, at the which they hadde both Rice and Hens, which he commaunded to be bought the day before. The Catuall did much meruaile to ſée how little they did paſſe for their cloſe kéeping, after that ſort, and of the great conſtancie of the Captaine Generall, that he woulde not commaund thoſe ſhippes to be brought nére to the ſhoare, nor yet condeſcended to any of the other his requeſt. And for that hée thought that it was but a follye to kéepe him priſoner, thereby the rather to conſtraine him to doe it, it was Gods pleaſure to put him in the head to ſette him at lybertie, for feare leaſt that the king ſhoulde knowe thereof, for that he gaue him free lybertie to goe to his ſhippes. The next day which was Saterday the ſecond of June, hée then tolde him, that ſince he had certified the king that he would bring his Merchandiſe a land, he ſhuld command the ſame to be brought. For it was a cuſtome that whatſoeuer Merchants did come to Calicut, he ſhould immediatly vpon the ſame command his Merchandiſe to be brought a land and his men alſo, and they not to returne vnto their ſhips, vntill ſuch time that they had ſolde the ſame, notwithſtanding as ſone as the Merchandiſe were come, he would then let him go aboord his ſhips. And although his woordes were with the Captaine Generall of ſmall credite to ſend vnto his brother a certeine diſpatch for them, yet he did not lette to tell him, that immediatly he would ſende for them, if ſo

The generals conſtancye marueled at by the Catuall

be that they wold giue him Almadias or pinnaces, in the which the ſame might be brought, for that his brother wouldꝰ not conſent that his boates ſhould come a lande, vntill ſuch time that hée were there himſelf, with this the Catuall was content for that he thought to make himſelf poſſeſſour of the Merchandiſe, hauing a ſpeciall hope that they were of a great value, as the Captaine Generall had tolde him.

The effect of ꝑ Generals letters vnto his brother.

Then he diſpatched two of his men with a letter vnto his brother, in the which he had made relation after what ſorte hée did remaine. And that he had no other iniury offered him, but that he kept his lodging. And for any thing elſe hée was very well, willing him that hée ſhould ſende him part of the Merchaundiſe to content the Catuall withall, that he might let him depart. And after that hée had receiued the ſame, if then hée would not let him go, he would then beléeue that hée did kéepe him priſoner, by the king of Calicuts commaundement, who hée knew would not commaund the ſame, except it were to take his ſhippes, which hée would not doe, but hauing time to arme his owne Flóte, & ſo to ſet vppon them, wherefore hée aduertiſed them that if ſo bée he were not ſet at liberty, immediatly after ꝑ the Merchandiſe were landed, that then they ſhould not remaine there any longer, but goe their wayes toward Portingale, & informe the king his Maiſter what had chaunced vnto him, and alſo what hée had done, that there might not bée loſt a Countrie of ſo greate a profite for Portingale as that was, and alſo to tell him after what ſorte that hée did remaine there, and what confidence hée hadde in his highneſſe that he would ſend him ſuch a Flóte of ſhips and men, that by the ſame hée doth hope to be ſette at libertie, béing aſſured that as nowe they wouldꝰ not kill him.

He that carried theſe letters béing come to Paulo de la Gama, did deliuer them vnto him, giuing vnto him large inſtructions of all that which they had paſſ, ſince they did departe. Now Paulo de la Gama hauing ſéene this Letter

which

which was sent him from the Captaine General, did send immediatlye the merchaundise with an aunswere to this Letter, in the whych hée sayde, that GOD would not permit him to retourne to Portingale without his companye. And if so bée that their enimyes would not sette him at lyberty, that then hée did hope in GOD that hée woulde strengthen those fewe that remained in the Fléet, with whome and with the Ordinance that they haue, hée woulde come and set him at lyberty, and of this hée might make full accompt, and of no other thing. His brothers aply

The Merchaundise béing landed, the Captaine General did deliuer the same vnto the Catual, and also to Diego Dyas whome he lefte for Factour of the same, and to Aluora de Braga the Scriuenor, who remained in a house which the Catuall had sought out for them. In this space the Captaine Generall made himselfe in a readynesse to goe aborde his shippes, but first the Catuall did reforme, and make himselfe friendes with him.

After that hée was aborde, hée would send no more Merchaundise a lande, vntill such time hée heard newes the same were solde, neyther yet would goe anye more a lande, because hée would runne in no such daunger, with this the Mores were grieuously offended, for that they thought that if so be that he would come a land, that there they might doe him more hurte then a Seaborde. And for that they woulde the rather so do, they beganne to make a mocke at the merchandise which he had left a land. Also they wrought all the meanes they could to hinder their sales therof, saieng ỳ they wer litle or nothing worth. Of al this ỳ Captain general was informed, & for ỳ as he thought the king knew nothing of all these things, neither yet what discurtesie the Catuall had offered him, & for that he should vnderstand the cause why the Captaine Generall did not returne a land, neither yet wold send any more merchandise, he did therfore send him word within fiue dayes after by his Factour of all that they hadde done vnto him, and also what iniurye the Mores hadde shewed him, deuises of the Mores to entise thē aland.

touching their Merchants, promiſing notwithſtanding, that he would not let to be at his commaundement with all the whole Fléet. When the king ſæmed to be very greatly offended for that which they had done to ỹ Captaine general, inſomuch as he had ſent him vnto his thippes. But for all that the Catuall went vnpunished, although he ſent the Captaine Generall worde, that he would puniſh thoſe that had ſo vſed him, which out of doubt were naughtie chriſtians, ſo that it did well appeare that it grieued him verye much to heare thereof. And as touching the Merchaundiſe he promiſed to ſende thether ſuch as ſhoulde buye the ſame, as hée did indéede ſeauen or eyght Merchauntes, which are Gentiles Guſarates, and with his Factour hée ſent a Nayre, which was a principall honeſt man, to the intent hée might remaine in the Factorye with the Factour, to whome hée gaue commaundement diligentlye to beware that there ſhoulde not come any Mores to kill him.

But for becauſe that this was done but vnder couloure that the Mores ſhoulde not ſéeme to ſubborne the Merchauntes, they bought nothing, but rather did abate the price, of the which the Mores were verye gladde, and ſaid, that nowe it did well appeare that they were not alons that woulde not buye of theyr Merchaundiſe, yet for all that ther durſt come no More to the Factorie, they once hauing notice that there was placed a Nayre by the kinges commaundement. And if ſo be that before they did not abide or loue vs, they ten times worſe loued vs afterwarde, ſo that whenſoeuer any of our men ſhould come a land, they receiued the ſame as an iniurie done vnto them, ſpitting on the ground, ſaieng: Portingale, Portingale. But our men which vnderſtode their meaning did laugh thereat, to the ende thereby they might ſée howe little they did eſtéeme their doinges, for ſo the Captaine Generall commaunded them to doe. Nowe perceiuing that there was none that would buy of the Merchants, he ſuppoſed the cauſe to be for that they lay in a place where there were no Merchaunts. And therfore ſuppoſing that if ſo be that they were in Cali-

cut

cut, where other Merchants are, he should sell the better, did therefore inuie ỹ King of Calicut by a messenger for license to send the same, which he gaue immediately, and commanded the Catuall to see the same brought forthwith, & to such as should carrie them, to see them paid at his owne costes and charges, for that he would not that any thing of ỹ king of Portingales, shuld be at any charges in his Country, and so it was done: but for all this the Captaine generall wold neuer come more a lande, for that which the Catuall hadde done vnto him, and for that Bontaybo which came to see him manye times, did giue him counsaile so to doe, for that the King was moueable, and therefore it was possible that the Moores would alter his minde, for the great credite that they were of with him. But the Captaine general was very warie, and because that he was a Moore, he woulde not much trust him, neither yet woulde giue him account what he was minded to doe: yet for that he would seeme to haue him in some reputation that he should bring him alwayes newes of that which did passe on shoare, he departed with him both money and other rewards.

Their merchandize paide for by ỹ king him selfe

Bontaybo vsed, but not trusted.

¶ How the Captaine generall being desirous to retourne toward Portingale, sent to demaunde lycense of the King to haue a Factor and a Scriuener, with such Merchaunts as he thought good: & how the King caused the messenger with one other, that was found a shoare to be caried to prison. Chap. 22.

THe Merchaunts being brought to Calicut, the Captaine generall therewith gaue all his men license to goe and see the Citie of Calycut, & to buye ther what they thought good, so that there went out of each shippe euery day a man, and those being returned, there went immediately others. And as they went on this

order, they were carried to the Gentiles houſes wher they had good cheere, and alſo when occaſion ſerued might haue among them good lodging. The like courteſie they did receiue in Calicut, beſides they did report vnto our men of all ſuch things as they had, and after the ſelfe ſame manner, our men did beſtow amongſt them part of that they caried, which were bracelets of Braſſe & of Copper, Pewter, and apparell, which they carried to ſell in Calicut, or anye other place, where they might goe as quiet as in Liſhborne.

From the lande there went aboord both Fiſher men & Gentiles to ſell their Fiſh, Cocos and Hennes, which they gaue in truche of biſket and for ready money. Others ther wer that went thether with their children, who carried nothing with them to ſell, but only their going was to ſée our ſhips. The Captaine generall was very glad of their comming, & commanded to giue them meate: this he did for to increaſe the friendſhip betweene the King of Calicut & them. After this order, the ſhips wer neuer without ſome, & thoſe ỹ wer there, remained till ſuch time that night drew on, and then they were bid to goe their ways. After this ſort they ſpent their time till it was the 2. day of Auguſt, the which was the beginning of the ſeaſon wherin they might depart from the Coaſt of the Indias, and alſo for that as then their winter did make an end. The Captaine generall perceiuing the quietneſſe of the people and Countrey, and the familyaritie they vſed with our men, and how quietly they went in Calicut, without receiuing either hurt of the Moores or of the Nayres, did credibly beléeue that this came to paſſe, for that the King of Calycut would haue peace and friendſhip with the King his Maſter, was the occaſion that almoſt in three moneths that our men had trade in Calycut they did receiue no manner hurt, either of the Moores or of the Nayres. Hée did therfore determine to eſtabliſh the Factorie which was there, with all ſuch Merchandize as he had lefte at that preſent (although the leaſt parte thereof was ſolde) for that there was now layde a good foundation or ground worke, for the nert voyage when it ſhuld pleaſe the King his Maſter

The ende of ỹ vvinter in the Indias.

ster to sende againe, and if it might please God to giue him life, that he might bring him newes of this Discouerie, so that it should not be needfull to make any new consent or agreement for the Factorie. And by the counsaile of his Captaines and of the other Principalls of his ships, he sent vnto the King of Calicut a present, of sharkes of sundry coulours, of silkes, Corralls and other things, which was caried vnto him by Diego Dias, desiring the King to pardon him, for that he was so bold as to send him that present, considering he did the same for no other purpose, but onelye to shew what seruitour he was of his, who is and will bee alwayes at his commandement, which was the occasion that he sent it, and not for that he thought that things of so smal valew, were of sufficient dignitie, for to represent a King withall of so great a power as he was. And if so be that he had in his custodie, that which he might esteeme or think to be of a more worthie price, he would sende it with a better good will. And for that the time now drew neere ỳ he determined to depart, he ordained for the same, and also if so bee that he did minde to send any Embassadour to the King his Master to confirme the amitie or friendship betwéen them, he desired him to commaund him to be in a readinesse, for that he had a confidence that as touching that which he had agreed vpon with his highnesse, as also presuming on ỳ gifts which he had receiued at his hands, ỳ he might as he was desirous, leaue in Calicut that Factor with his Scriuenor & the Merchandize which he had left, not onely for a witnes of a perpetuall peace & friendship setled ther with his highnes, but also for a testimony of the truth of his Embassage, & of that which ỳ King his Master shuld send hereafter, as sone as he had newes of him, & also for confirmatiõ of his discouery & to get some credit in Portingale, he did therfore send to kisse his hands, requesting him to send to ỳ king his master one Bahar of cinamon, & another of cloues, & another of some other spices, & as sone as ỳ factor did make any redy mony of his wares, he shuld pay for ỳ same, for so much as at ỳ present he had not wherewith to paye. After that Diego Dias

had

P 4

had receiued his meſſage, there paſt foure dayes afore the King would conſent that he ſhould come in his preſence, although that he went euery day vnto his Pallaice. After that he had commanded him to come into his preſence, he viewed how and after what ſort he came laden, and therevpon aſked him with a frowning countenance, what it was that he would haue: but Diego Dias at that time was afeard, that he would commaund him to be killed. But after that he had told him his meſſage and would haue deliuered him the preſent, he would not ſee it, but commaunded it to be deliuered to his Factor. The anſwer that he gaue touching the Captaine generall was, that ſince he would néedes goe his waye, he might ſo doe: but firſt or that he doe depart, he muſt giue him 600. Seraſynes, for ſo it was the cuſtome of the Countrey. Diego Dias being returned with this preſent, was accompanied by manye Nayres, which he ſéing, thought it to be for the beſt: but as ſone as he was come to the Factorie, they remained at the doore, and woulde not conſent, that he or any other ſhoulde come forth. And after this proclamation was made in all the Citie, that vpon pain of death there ſhould goe aboord our Fléte no boate or Almadias: but yet notwithſtanding all this Bontaybo went, and gaue warning to the Captaine generall in ſecrete, not to goe a lande, nor conſent that any of his ſhould gee: for that he knew for moſt certaine by the Moores, that if ſo be that he or they ſhoulde ſo doe, the King would commaunde theyr heads to be ſtroken off. And as touching all his faire words and good entertainment, which he had ſhewed him vnto that preſent, as alſo to giue him a houſe in the which his Merchandize might be layd, as alſo the good entertainment that our men had, was but mere diſſimulation, and to the ende, he might haue taken him a lande with them, to haue commaunded them all to be killed, which was wrought by the induſtrie of the Moores onely, which had made the King beléeue, that they were théeues and went a roming, and that he came not vnto his Harbour, but to ſteale ſuch Merchandize as ſhould be brought to the Citie, and alſo to eſpie the

The kings aunſwere vnto Diego Dias.

Diego Dias kept in priſon.

Countrey,

Countrey, and after to come with a great Fleete for to inuade the same. In the selfe same order was the Captaine generall informed by two Malabars, which are Gentiles, being therefore now in a studie what was best to be done, hauing this aduertisement for most certaine, as sone as it was night, there came aboorde the Generalls ship, a slaue of the colour blacke, which was naturally borne in Guynee, & belonged vnto Diego Dias and also was a Christian, and had the Portingall tongue very well, who tolde him that Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga did remain in prison, & what answere the King of Calycut had made to his message, & what he had commaunded to be done with his present: and also what Proclamations there were made: Diego Dias, for that he thought good to giue him knowledge of ỹ which had past, had bribed a Fisher man to carrie this messenger, and that in the night season that he might not be knowen. After that the Captaine generall had heard all this, he was much offended therewith: howbeit, for that hee woulde see the end thereof, would not depart, but did let passe that day, to see whether that any would come aboord him. The nexte day which was Wednesdaye, being the xv. of August, there came one only Pinnace or Almadia aboord the General, in the which were foure boyes, which brought fine precious stones to sell, and for that they came after such sort he toke them to be spies, and that their comming was for no other purpose but to see what they did: and by this meanes hee thought he might vnderstand in what reputation they were with the King. This was the occasion the Captaine generall did receiue them with as good a countenaunce (as he did before, giuing them nothing to vnderstand ỹ he knew of the imprisonment of Diego Dias, and would not therefore laye hand vpon those, but vpon such as shoulde come afterward (which as he thought should be of more credite) vntill such time as he had recouered those that were imprisoned.

Boies sent for spyes

Vnto those also he wrote a Letter by those Boyes, with fained words, saieng that he did vnderstande of their imprisonment: this was done in such order, that if so be this

letter ſhould haue come to any other mens hands, they could not haue vnderſtood the ſame. Theſe Boyes did deliuer vnto him this letter, who afterward told the king what great entertainment they had at the Captaine generalls hands, which made him to beléeue that he knewe nothing of the imprisonment of his men, whereof he was very glad & did returne and ſend aboord others, and thoſe that ſhoulde goe had warning giuen them not to diſcloſe, that the Factour with the others did remaine priſoners. This was done by pollicie, for that he made this reckoning to deceiue the Captaine generall on this ſort, vntill ſuch time that he was able to ſende a Fléte of ſhips vpon him, or til that the ſhips of Meca, ſhould come and take him. On this ſort went the Malabars aboord, vnto whom the Captaine generall made a good countenaunce, and commaunded them to be entertained very well: all this he did for ỹ he ſaw none worthy the ſtaieng. On the Sunday next, there came fiue principal Malabars, with other fiftéene which waited vpon them, in another Pinace. And for that the Captain generall thought that for thoſe the King would ſend him his Factor and his Scriuenour, he laid hands vpon them all, onely he lefte two Mariners in a pinace, by whom he ſent a letter to the kings Factors, written in the Malabars tongue, in the which he demaunded for the Factor and his Scriuenor, & then he wold ſend thoſe which he had ſtaid. The kings factor hauing peruſed this letter, he enformed ỹ king of ỹ which had paſt, who cõmaunded the Factor & Scriuenor to be brought home to his houſe as priſoners, that he might from thence ſend for them, and to diſſemble therewith as though he knewe nothing of their imprisonment, & to cauſe them to be ſent from thence to the Captaine generall, for that he might ſend him thoſe Malabars which he had detained, whoſe wiues made exclamation for the imprisonment of their huſbands. And therefore the King was the more willinger to ſet our men at liberty, who afterward remained a while in the Kings Factors houſe.

The king of Calicuts treſon towards the Captaine generall.

Certaine Malabars ſtayed in exchange

¶ How the Captaine generall ſeeing the delayes wer made

for

for that the Factor with the Scriuenor came not, did bring himselfe in a readines as though he would depart immediately, wherevpon without any further delay, the King sent them away, and what els happened. Chap. 23.

The captaine generall seeing ý they came not, determined to proue whether ý with shewing himself as though he wold depart immediatly, they wold thẽ send them to him, did therfore on wednesday, being the xviii. of August commaund to wey his Anker, & to bring himselfe vnder saile. And for that the winde was contrary he was driuen to come to an Anker foure leagues from Calicut, riding in an open road, and there they remained till the next Saterday, to se whether they would sende their prisoners. And perceiuing no likelihod thereof, he went yet further into the Sea, so far, that he scarcely could descry any land, & being at an Anker for lack of winde, there came thether a boat wt certain Malabars, which told ý Captaine generall ý their comming was to seeke him out, & to tel him ý Diego Dias with ý others, wer in ý kings pallaice, whom he minded to send aboord, which thing to be true they would bind theselues ý as ý next day they should be brought. And ý cause why they brought thẽ not as then, was for that they thought they shuld not ouertake him. Now for ý they saw not ý Malabars ý the Generall kept as prisoners, thought ý they were all dead. This craftie dealing was for no other purpose, but to dally with ý Captaine generall, & to stay him with those words, that the king might in the meane while prepare in Calicut an armie of ships to set vpon him, and to tarry for the ships of Meca, to ioyne with his fleete. After this the Captaine generall commaunded those of the towne, to goe their way, and not to retourne without his men, or els their letters, for if so he they did he would sink them wt his ordinance. And also if immediately they did not returne with an answere, ý then he would cut off the heads of those which he had taken. With this aunswere, those of the

Yet more deuices to staye the Portingals from departing

towne did departe, and immediatelye as ſone as they had winde, he made ſayle, and bearing along the Coaſt, came to Ankor at the Sunne ſet ouer againſt Calycut.

The nert daye our men deſcryed comming ſeauen Almadias, which came abord the Captaine generalls ſhip, in the one whereof came Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga, and in the others there came many others of the countrey, howbeit, there were none that durſt enter within their ſhips, but did put Diego Dias and Aluoro de Braga in his owne boate which they had at their ſtearne, and afterwarde they themſelues fell further off, tarrieng for the Captaine Generalls aunſwere. To whom Diego Dias ſaid; That as ſone as the King of Calicut knew that he was gone, he ſent for him from his Factors houſe and ſhewed himſelfe ioyfull, as one that knew nothing of his impriſonment, and aſked him what was the occaſion that the Captaine Generall toke thoſe men which he doth kepe as priſoners, who afterward tolde him the cauſe: whereupon the King made aunſwere, that it was well done. He aſked him alſo whether that his Factor had demaunded at his hands any thing of gift, ſpeaking againſt his owne Factor which was there preſent, for that he knew wel inough ỳ it was not long ago, ſince he cõmaunded one other to be killed, for taking certain bribes of Merchaunt ſtraungers. After all this, he willed him to tell the Captaine generall that he ſhould ſend him ỳ ſtone which he promiſed him to be ſet in the Countrey, vpon the which there is a Croſſe and the royall Armes of Portingale, and alſo to know of him whether he be content to leaue Diego Dias for Factor in Calicut, and with the ſame he ſent him a letter for the King of Portingale, which was confirmed and ſigned by the King, and written by Diego Dias and with this Letter, he ſent Aluoro de Braga. The Captaine generall toke this Letter, which was written in a certaine Leafe of a Palme Tree, vpon the which they doe vſe to write matters, that ſhall indure a long time, the effect whereof was this.

Vaſco

Vasco de la Gama, a Gentleman of thy house came to my Countrie, of whose comming I was very glad. In my Countrie there is great store of Cinamon, Cloaues, and Pepper, and precious stones. That which I am desirous to haue out of thy Countrie, is Siluer, Gold, Corall, & Skarlet. The Captaine Generall for that he sawe the king to vse no truth, woulde not aunswere for all his offers, but therewith sent him all such as he hadde stayed that were Nayres, and for all the others, he sent him word, he would not send them, vntill such time that he sent him all such merchaundise as he had taken of his. Notwithstanding hee sent him the stone he sent for, & with this answere departed those that brought Diego Dyas aboord. The next day there came a boord Bontaybo who tolde the Captaine Generall that he came so sodeinly away from Calicut for that the Catuall by the kings commaundement had taken from him all that he euer had, saieng that he was a christian, and that his comming to Calicut ouer land was by the king of Portingales commaundement onely to bee his spie. Other matters there were which he told him of, and that the same came by the Moores procurement, the which he knew wel, that as they toke his goods, so they meant to do him some shrewd turne in his person, if so bee that they coulde haue taken him, and therefore he came his way before. The Captaine Generall was very glad of his comming, and tolde him that hee would carry him to Portingale, and that there he shuld recouer all his goods with the double, besides other rewards that the king his Maister would giue him. He commaunded also that in his ship there should be prepared him a principall good cabine. After this about tenne of the clocke, there came a boorde the Captaine Generall three Pinnaces laden with men, and vpon certeine of their seates or benches, there was layd certeine Skarfs, as who should say, there came part of their Merchaundise. And after these there came other foure one after another. And as touching those three that brought those Skarfes, they tolde the Captaine Generall that there came all their Merchandise,

The effect of ỹ king of Calicuts letters.

Bontaibo vvilling to goe to Portingal

diſe which they would put in his boate, and therefore they willed him to bring thether thoſe Malabars which he had priſoners, and that there they woulde fetch them. The Captaine Generall perceiuing that this was but a fetche, did will them to goe their waye, for that hée woulde haue none of theyr Merchaundiſe but thoſe Malabars to carrye to Portingale, as witneſſes of his diſcouerie.

And if ſo be that God of his diuine goodneſſe doe giue him lyfe, hée woulde very ſhortly retourne to Calicut, and then they ſhoulde well knowe whether that thoſe Chriſtians were théeues or not, las the Moores hadde made the king of Calycut beléeue, and therefore that was the cauſe why hé did them ſo manifeſt wrong. This béing done hé commaunded to ſhote of many péces of Ordinaunce, with the feare thereof they ranne theyr waye.

And if ſo hé that the kings ſhippes had bene in a readyneſſe and a floate, they had ſent them againſt the Captanie Generall, but they were haled vp for becauſe of the Winter, which was to bée beléeued to haue béene the handye worke of GOD, that our Shippes ſhoulde bée there at this ſeaſon, for that they might eſcape and carrye newes of the diſcouerye of this Countrye, to reſtore in the ſame the holye Catholike Faith, otherwiſe if it had ben Summer he woulde haue hadde his Fléete in a readineſſe, the which was great, and ſo haue taken vs all, and by this meanes there hadde bene none lefte to haue carryed newes to Portingale.

Of the departure of the Captaine Generall from Calycut towarde Portingale, and what further happened vnto him being in the Iland Anſandina. Cap. 22.

Al-

Although that the Captaine Generall reioyced very much for that hée had discouered Calicut, yet he was not fully satisfied therwith altogether, for that the king had conceiued against him great displeasure, & by this meanes as he iudged the nett fleet that the king his maister should send, would run in great daunger. Howbeit perceiuing that it lay not in his power to do any more, he was therfore contented onely with the discouery, and to haue knowne the Indias, & their nauigation, & what was commodious for the Countrie, and to haue brought with him from thence examples of the spices, drugs, and precious stones, as also of all other thinges that were within the same citie. And hauing there no more to doe, he departed, carrieng with him those Malabars which he had taken, for that by them he hoped to haue some agreement made with the king of Calicut at the returne of anye other Fleet. The Thursday after his departure, being in calme a league of from Calicut, there came towarde him to ỹ number of 17. Tonys full of Souldiers, by the which the king of Calicut thought to haue taken them, who seeing them comming commaunded his ordinaunce to be shot of at them, & that oftentimes, and if he had not done so, they would haue put him in greate daunger for that they followed him an houre and a halfe. And by reason of a shower of raine which came vpon a sodeine, the Captaine Generall was driuen a sea bord with all his Fleete, & in the meane while the enimies fledde their waye, and bearing his course towards Mylinde in great calmes, & that along the coast, thought good & conuenient although ỹ king of Calicut had abused him sundry waies, that for the necessitie ỹ those that should returne to Calicut, should haue of his friendship and fauour to receiue from thence they⁹ lading of Spices, to vse as it were some friendship with them, since that the king would be gladde thereof, in especiall being exalted, did therefore write vnto him a letter in the Arabian

tongue,

tongue, which was penned in that language by Bontaybo, in the which he did craue pardon for the carrieng awaye of thoſe Malabars with him, which was done for no other intent then that they ſhoulde be as witneſſes of that the which he had diſcouered, as before hée had ſent him worde. And for that he lefte no Factorie in Calycut (the which he was ſorrie for) was for feare leaſt that the Moores ſhoulde kill him, which was alſo the occaſion that he was not often times a land. Yet for all that he did not leaue, but woulde bée alwayes at his commaundement, ſince that the king his Maiſter would be gladde of his friendſhippe, and alſo forthwith woulde lende him in his Fléete greate abundaunce of all ſuch merchaundiſe as he doth demaund for, by the trade that from hence forth hée ſhoulde haue with the Portingales in his Citie, would redound vnto him great profit. This letter was deliuered vnto one of the Malabars to carry the ſame a land to the place where it was cõmãded to be deliuered. And afterward he knew ꝑ the ſame was deliuered to ꝑ king of Calicut. Then ꝑ Captaine generall going forward in his courſe, ꝛ that along the coaſt, on the nert Thurſday after, he fell amongſt certeine rocks, with all his Flëete, and from one of them that was inhabited there came forth ſundry Pinnaces with men, within the ſame to ſell them Fiſh, and other victualls. The Captaine Generall did receiue them very curteouſly, who commaunded to giue them both ſhirts and other things, of the which they were verye gladde, whereupon he tooke occaſion to aſke them whether they woulde be content that there ſhoulde be erected a marke with a croſſe in the ſame, with the royall armes of Portingale, in token that the Portingals are theyr friends. And they aunſwered that they were contented, and thereby they well knew that we were chriſtians, and ſo was the marke placed, and ſince that time it is called El Padron de Sancta Maria. Now to this day by the foreſaid name the rocke is called. From hence as ſone as the night drew on and that the winde began to blow of the ſhoare, the Captaine Generall made ſaile, and keeping al-

waies

wayes along the coaste on the Thursdaie after, beeing the 19. of September hee fell with a goodly high lande, and harde to the same there laye fiue little Ilandes, and there he came to an Ankor, and going a lande to take in water did there finde a young man, which did demaund, concerning the Captaine Generall, whether he were a Moze or a Christian, they aunswered him that hee was a christian. This he did as it was thought with feare, least that they should haue killed him, forsomuch as in that place there were no christians. This young man did carrie our men within a certeine riuer, & shewed them most excellent water the which issued out betweene certeine rocks, and for his paines they gaue him a red night cap. The nert morning following there came from the land foure others in a small boate a boord the Captaine Generall, which brought with them to sell many gourds and Colecombers, and they wer demaunded by the Generall whether there were in that Countrie any Cinamon or Pepper. They aunswered that there was nothing but Cinamon, and for that he was desirous to see the same, he sent with them two of his men, the which at their return brought wt them two greene boughs of certeine trees which they doe take to be the same, reporting that thereof, there was a great groue, howbeit the same was wilde. And at their retourne there came with them more then 20. of that Countrie men, which brought to sell hens, gourds, & Cowes milke. Also they requested the Captaine Generall to send with them certeine of his men, for that shortly after, they should retourne with greate store of drie Cinamon, Hogges, and Hennes, but for all their great offers, he would let none of his men goe, for that hee feared least the same was some treason. The nert daye after before dinner, our men going a lande to cut wode somewhat farre of, from the place where they were, fell on a soddeine vppon two Boates, the which laye harde by the shoare side.

Cinamon grovving.

The Captaine Generall woulde not immediatlye procure to knowe what they were, till it was after Dinner,

for then he thought to know the ſame. And being in a readineſſe to depart, did firſt commaund one of his Marriners to go vp to the top, to ſee whether that he could diſcry any other veſſels a ſea boord or not, who being there tolde him that he had ſight of eight great ſhips which wer incalmed, with this newes he left his going to ſee the others, & put himſelfe in a readineſſe, the winde was in ſuch ſort that it might ſerue them both, & as they came within two leagues of our Flæte, the Captaine Generall made toward them. The enimies perceiuing that, did immediatly flye toward the ſhoare And they bearing after this ſorte, was broken the Rudder of one of the ſame, by reaſon whereof thoſe that were within the ſhip were forced to go in their boats toward the lande. Nicholas Coello who was next to this ſhip, went immediatly and layde the ſame aboord, thinking indéede to finde in it ſome greate ſtore of riches, howbeit there was nothing els but Cocos and Melaſus, which is a certeine kinde of Sugar made of Palmes or Date trées. Alſo he founde therein manye bowes, arrowes, ſwoordes, ſpeares and targats, and the other ſeauen ranne themſelues a ground, and for that our men could not come néere vnto them with their ſhips, they followed them in their boats, and from thence did beate them with their ordinaunce, ſo that their enimyes were driuen to leaue their ſhippes, and béeing yet the next day at an Ankor, there came vnto him ſeauen men of the country in an Almadias, who tolde him that thoſe eight ſhips were of Calicut, the which the king had ſent for to take him, as by thoſe that fled away they vnderſtood.

How the captaine Generall went to Anſandina to take in water, & alſo how he toke there a Moore priſoner, which was ſeruant to the Lord of the Iland of Goa called Sabayo, the which was taken for a ſpie. cap. 25.

After

After that the Captaine Generall was thus informed, he would tarrie there no longer, but immediatlye came to an Ankor at the Iland of Ansandina, the which was distaunt from thence as it were two Gunne shotte, where it was tolde him, there was excellent swéete water. This Iland is but little, and but a league of from the firme land. There are in the same many woods, and also two conduit heads, made of frée stone of excellent swéete water, the which are springs and do rise ther, wherof one is fire fote déepe. Also in the sea about the sayde Iland is great store of fish. Before that the Moores did vse to traficke to the Indias, the same was inhabited by Gentiles, in the which there were goodly buildings, in especiall their Pagodes was a goodly thing. And after that the Moores which came from the red sea began to saile that way, they resorted thether allwayes to take in their water and wood, and did so abuse the inhabitants that they could not wel abide the same, so that they left their dwellings ther, but before their going away, they plucked downe almost all their Pagods, so that they left nothing standing but the verye Chappell, the lyke they did to all other their buildings, yet for all that these Gentiles that wer of the firme land, which belong to the king of Narsingas, had to this Pagode such deuotion that from thence they would goe sundry times to make in the same their praiers vnto thrée black stones that were lieng in the middest of the said Chappell.

Ansādina forsaken of the inhabitants

The Iland is called Ansandina which in the Malabars language is called the fiue Ilandes, for that rounde about the same there lye the other foure. The Captaine Generall hauing come to an Ankor, sent Nicholas Coello with his companye to discouer the same, who founde it according as afore is declared, and a goodlye place or grounde, where they might newe

graue their ſhips. And for that the Captaine Generall had a great courſe to run, and alſo for that he knew not when to finde ſo conuenient a place, he conſulted with the other Captaines to bring their ſhippes there a ground. The firſt ſhip that they brought there a grounde, was the Shippe the which they called Berrio. And whileſt they were thus occupyed, there came many people to ſell them victualls. At which time there came two ſmall Brickentines that hadde out theyr Standerds, and Flagges in the toppes of theyr Maſtes, and within them theyr Trumpettes and Drummes, whereupon they came playeng, at theyr pleaſure. In theſe Brickentines there came manye men, and they all at the Dare, and along the ſhoare ſide there were other fiue which came to ſuccour them if they ſhoulde haue anye nede.

They repaire their ſhips.

The Captaine Generall after that he hadde ſight of them, had warning giuen him by the Malabars to beware of them, for that they were rouers, and vnder a couloure of peace, did robbe all that they coulde take. And after that he was entered into his ſhippe, he perceiued that he might haue taken them if ſo be that he woulde haue conſented to lette them to come aboarde him, but he woulde not agree to the ſame. And therefore as ſone as they came within Gunne ſhotte, commaunded all theyr Ordinaunce to be ſhot at them from thoſe two ſhippes that were a floate. They fearing this ſhotte, gaue out a lowde voice crieng, Tambarane, Tambarane, for ſo they doe call God, and with this often ſhooting they fledde theyr way.

Nicholas Coello beeing as then in his Boate, went after them alwayes ſhooting his Ordinaunce, who purſued them ſo farre that the Captaine Generall was driuen to put vp his Flagge for a ſigne he ſhoulde retourne, and ſo he did.

The next daye after the Captaine Generall with all his men beeing a land, working vpon the ſhip called Berrio, there came in two litle Paraos to the number of twelue men of the Countrie, the which in their apparel ſeemed to bee of

ſome

some countenaunce, who brought for a present a bundell of Sugar Canes, and immediately as sone as they had delinered the same, they asked license to goe aboord and to see the ships, for that they neuer saw any before. The Captaine generall was greatly offended with this their request, for by that he feared least that they were spies: and whilest they were in this talke, there came thether other two Paraos, with as many more men. Those that came first, seeing that the Captaine generall was somewhat growen in choler, did will those that came afterward, not to come a lande but to returne againe. The ship Berrio being made in a redinesse, & afterward that the Generalls ship was brought a ground to be new rigged, and hauing a lande about hir, all the other Captaines, there came a man in a little Parao, who seemed to be of the age of fortie yeares, and not of that Countrey, for that he had vpon him a Sabaco of fine Cotten, which reached downe to his heeles, and about his head a tocke or towell, which also couered part of his face, and at his gyrdell a Fawchin or Skeyne. And assone as he leapt a lande, he went immediately to imbrace the Captaine generall as one that had seene him or knowen him before, and after the selfe same sort he vsed the other Captaines, telling them that he was a Christian, and borne in Italy, and that hee was brought into that Countrey of a childe, and that his dwelling was with a Noble man that was a Moore, called Sabayo the which was Lord of a certaine Iland called Goa, lieng about twelue leagues from thence, and had forty thousand horsemen within the sayd Iland. And for that his habitation was amongst the Moores, he obserued their lawe, howbeit it was but for an outward shew, but inwardly in his soule he was a Christian: and being in Sabayos house it was tolde him, that there was come by Sea to Calycut certaine men in ships, whereof there was neuer seene ỹ like in the Indias, and that there were none that vnderstoode their language, and also that their bodies were couered ouer with cloathes. And when he had vnderstanding of the same, he immediatelye iudged them to be Frangnes, for so

Sugar Canes grovving there.

they do call thoſe that are Chriſtians in that Countrey, and for that he was deſirous to ſée them, had therefore aſked lycenſe of Sabayo, ſaieng that if ſo be that he woulde not giue him licenſe to goe and ſée them, that he knewe verye well that he ſhould dye with very thought and anger: by reaſon whereof he gaue him licenſe, by whome hée ſent them word, that if ſo be that there were in his Countrey anye thing ỹ they had néede of, they ſhuld haue the ſame, in eſpeciall ſhippes and victualles. And moreouer, if they woulde come and dwell in his Countrey, he would be very gladde thereof, and would giue both them and theirs ſufficient lyuing, with the which they ſhould liue very honourably.

After that he had ended thus his talke, the Captaine generall aſked him perticularly for the Countrey of Sabayo, and other things: Whereuppon he requeſted of the Captaine generall a chéeſe for to ſende to a companion of his, which remained in the firme Lande, for that it was agréed betwéene them, that if ſo be that he were well entertained, that he woulde ſende vnto him a token in ſigne thereof. This kinde of dealing made the Captaine generall ſuſpect him, notwithſtanding, he commaunded a chéeſe to be giuen him, and alſo two newe loaues, the which he ſent to his companion as aforeſaide, and he remained alwayes talking with the Captaine Generall: His talke was ſo much, that ſome times hée diſcouered himſelfe to bée a ſpye.

Paulo de la Gama, which noted the ſame, aſked of certaine countrey men what hée was, and they vp and tolde him, that he was a Rouer, and that he had laide aborde other Shippes, which had bene there brought a grounde before that time. The Captaine Generall béeing thereof informed, commaunded him to be carried aborde his ſhippe, which was then a grounde, and there he commaunded him to bée well whipped to confeſſe, whether that all or anye parte of the ſame was true that hée had tolde him, and alſo what he meant by his comming thether, and whether he were a Moore or a Chriſtian, who

aun-

annswered that he was a Christian as he had said before, al the rest he denied, & therefore the General sought one other more cruell torment then whipping, which was by hanging of him vp by his members by a pulley, to hoist him vp and downe: and by the great paine which he suffered there, he requested to be let downe, for that as then he would tell him the truth: and being come downe, he declared that hée was a spie, and was sent thether, to discouer how manye men the Captaine generall had, and what weapons, forsomuch as he was ill beloued along all that Coast, because he was a Christian. And that there were manye Atalayas or Foyles placed in euery Baye or Bricke to set vpon him: howbeit they durst not vntill such time as there came thether other fortie great Vessells, which were a making in a readinesse for to ioyne with those that are armed, and so to set vpon him, and to take him: and therefore in the meane space he was sent to knowe what he sayd, he affirmed also, that he knewe not certainelye, when those fortie sayle woulde come. This much he declared after that he had receiued three or foure torments: all the rest they vnderstood by coniectures, forsomuch as he did not perticularlye declare the same.

A notable counterfait discouered

A kinde of boates so called

The Captaine generall seeing that he would declare no more, was contented with the aduice he had giuen him, and commaunded him to prison vnder the hatches, for to carrie with him vnto Portingale: also to be cured verye well, and to giue him some refreshing of victualles. Afterward he tolde him that he did not minde to kéepe him prisoner to haue him as his Captiue, but to carie him vnto the King his Maister, to the ende he might tell him some newes of the Indias, knowing verye well that he would rewarde him. Now the Captaine generall hauing knowledge of the comming of his enimies, would therefore tarrie no longer then whilest his ship was new dressing, the which was done in ten dayes.

At this instaunt the Captaine generall was offered for the shippe, the which shippe he had taken of the eight, that did

did ſet vpon him a thouſand Fanons, but he wold not take it, ſaieng that he wold not ſell any thing y was his enimies, but commaunded the ſame to be burnt. The Captaine Generalls ſhip being ready and the water being taken in, hée immediately departed vpon the fifth daye of October, and going a Sea bowd, about a two hundred leagues from that Iland, then the Moze which he caried with him as priſoner, ſeeing there was no other remedie, ſaid, that now he would tell him the truth how that indéede he did dwell with the Sabayo, to whom word was brought that the Captain generall went wandring vpon the Seas, as one that knewe not where he was, and therefore there was in preparing a great Fléete for to take him. The Sabayo hauing notice thereof, commaunded him to goe thether to viſite him, and to marke how they went, and alſo to ſée whether that hée could bring them to Goa, which if ſo be that he could bring to paſſe, he would as then laye hand vpon them, for that the fame went that they were valyaunt, and ſo meant to kéepe them to make warres againſt other Kings his next neighbours. Theſe newes the Captaine Generall was glad to heare of, and gaue him from thenceforth better entertainment, & allowed him both apparell and alſo money, & afterward he was made a Chriſtian, to whom he gaue for name Gaſpar, in honour of one of the thrée Kings, called Magus of that name, and for that the Captaine generall was his God father, he gaue him the title of his ſurname, and ſo euer after he was called Gaſpar de la Gamas.

A Moore chriſtened

¶How the Captaine generall went forwarde on his Voyage towarde Mylynde, and of the great troubles he paſt, vntill ſuch time as he came thether. Chap. 26.

Following

Ollowing from hence his course towards Mylynde, whether hee was minded to returne to take in there an Embassadour, he went alwayes in cruell stormes, which the Captaine generall continually indured, vntil such time he had entred the goulfe, & hauing alwayes the winde right against him, it was the occasion that the shippes made but small way, and therefore it was the longer time before he entered the gulfe. But after that he was entered within the same, he was again troubled with great calmes, which on the Sea is very troublesome, not only for the gouerning of their ships, but also with the heat, which is more hurtfull vpon the sea, then vpon the land, for that ther is no couering to defend the Sunne, whereon with the same only men are stiffeled vp, as hath bene seene in the voyage toward the Indias. And as I say the winde hauing coursing thus with the heates, the space of many dayes together, did afterward returne and breake vp in contrary windes to go forward, and very good to goe backward. But the Captaine generall being loath to go backward, wold yet rather tarie ther wher he was, as indeed he did. And when he perceiued that the winde was so great and the Seas went so high, that there was no tarrieng for him with his shippes, then was he driuen of force to keepe the Seas, sometime on this bord, and sometime that, so that both he and his men passed great troubles, by reason they all had inough to doe to gouerne their ships. And hoping that after so great stormes there would come faire weather, were driuen once more to pray for those great calmes which they had before. And when they sawe that this weather was like to endure many dayes, and that their water beganne to fayle them, was the occasion that the Captaine Generall commaunded the same to be deliuered by order.

Men stiffled vvith the Sunne onely.

S. And

And going in this necessitie, and also with fowle weather, the people began to fall sicke with a disease in their gums, as they did in the riuer, De buenas Sennales, when as they went to Calicut, & also their armes and legs did swell, besides other swellings which did rise in their bodyes, by reason of a pestilent stinking humour, which did cast them into a lasse, and of this new infirmitie, there dyed to the number of thirtie persons. And after that they began once to die, and had continued this kinde of weather vppon the Seas, ther arose such a feare amongst those that did remain aliue, that they fared in the same, as it were men amazed, and beléeued verely that they should neuer goe from thence, for that as they thought this kinde of weather was alwayes durable there, and that the same was the cause that it indured so long. The Maisters and Pilots of the Fléete were of the lyke opinion, which made the rest beléeue it the soner, that by this meanes the crye of all those that were there, as well of them that were sicke as of the other, was great, saieng that since the weather would not serue them to goe from thence, yet they requested him not to be an occasion of their death, but rather consent to retourne vnto Calycut, or els to some other place in the Indias, and béeing ther, to receiue what God should appoint them, rather then to dye in those seas of so terrible diseases, for which ther was no like lihode of any remedie, in especiall hauing lacke of all other things, as of victuals and water, which as then they began to want, by reason that by their long continuaunce in the said place was all spent. The Captaine generall séeing the great feare that his men were in, and for to animate them the more, sayd vnto them all on this sorte, requesting them to be content, and not to beléeue that such weather as was there coursed by them on that sorte, was alwayes lyke to continue, for if so bée that it were so, then there would be no Nauigation from the Goulph to the Straytes of Meca, nor to Mylynde, nor yet from anye other place, by the which they shoulde passe: And that it was not vnpossible, but that they might somewhat digresse from

The Skurfe.

their

their right course, and therefore they met with those calmes and windes which they indured, yet those he saide should haue an ende, and with the same, their troubles will likewise ende.

But for all this, the Marriners wouldе not beléeue him, for that in this trouble they had continued foure monethes, and also that there were dead of theyr fellowes, thirtie persons: so that there were so fewe of them remayning, that there was not to euery ship sixteene persons left to gouerne the same: and of them there were some, that were verye sicke of the disease aboue sayde. By this meanes they fell into such a desperation, by reason that they thought they shoulde goe no further, and as they doe affirme, that Paulo de la Gama, and Nicholas Coello, being both of them Captaines made agréement each of them in theyr Shippes to the other, that if so bée that there woulde come anye Winde, by the which they might retourne into the Indias, that then they woulde surelye doe so. A vvofull mortalitie

Béeing thus determined, vppon a sodayne there came a fresh gale of Winde, with the which the Flóte might goe forwarde, and with the same in sixtéene dayes they came within sight of lande, béeing on a Wednesday the seconde of Februarye: at the which the Marriners reioyced in such sort that by meanes of the same, they had forgotten theyr troubles and daungers that they were past, and gaue vnto God great thankes for all his gracious benefites.

And when that they hadde sight of the Lande, they founde themselues so nére vnto it, that the Captaine generall gaue commaundement to cast about into the Sea, so much as might bée thought sufficient for to staye vntill the morning, the which béeing come, they went forthwith for to reknowledge the Lande, and for to sée where they were, for that as now there was none that knewe the same, although that one of the Moores sayde, that they hadde then taken theyr Course directlye towardes

Monſanbique, which ſtandeth betweene certaine Ilandes, ſtanding ouer againſt them, three hundred leagues of the ſhore, whereas the people of the ſame Countrey are continually ſicke of the ſame diſeaſe, that our men were. The morning being come he went to reknowledge the land, and came before a goodly great Citie, which was walled round about and within the ſame, very faire and high houſes, and in the midſt of the ſame there was a great Pallaice, which ſtood very high, and ſeemed to be of a goodly building, all this they ſaw very well out of their ſhips. This Citie is called Magadoxo, which ſtandeth at the ende of the ſaid goulfe in the Coaſt of Aethiopia, a hundred & thirtéene leagues from Mylynde, the ſcituation whereof I ſhall declare héereafter. And for that the Captaine generall knew the ſame to bée a Citie of Moores, when as hée went along the Coaſt, hée commaunded to ſhote of manye péeces of Ordinaunce, and alſo for that he coulde not tell how farre hée was from Mylynde, from thence forward he ſtayed in the night, becauſe he would not paſſe the ſame. Forthwith, on Saturday being the fifth of Februarie, lieng ouer againſt a village of the Moores, which they call Pate, being a hundred and three leagues from Magadoxo, there came from thence eight Terrados which is a certaine kinde of Boates of that Countrey, being all full of Souldiours, and made theyr waye ſtraight towarde our Fléete, from whence we ſhot ſo many péeces of Ordinaunce, that they thought themſelues happy to haue eſcaped by running awaye. Howbeit our men did not followe them for lacke of winde. The next Sundaye following, the Generall arriued at Mylynde, and béeing there, the King ſent to viſite the Captaine Generall with ſundrye freſh victuals, ſending him word alſo, how glad hée was of his comming. The Generall aunſwered him againe, by Fernan Martines, by whome hée ſent him a Preſent: and for becauſe of thoſe that were ſicke, whome hée was deſirous to haue cured, hée tarryed there ſiue dayes, in the which time, there died of them many.

The Citie of Magadoxo.

At

At this present by the kings license, he caused to be set a land a marke, in token of friendship. And after that he had prouided himselfe of victuals, he departed on a Wednesday in the morning, being the xvii. of Februarie, with an Embassadour whome the king did sende, to the king of Portingale, for a perpetuall confirmation of friendshippe betweene them.

Of the death of the Captaine Generalls brother, and of the burning of one of the ships called Saint Raphael, & also how he arriued in Portingale, and of the honour the king gaue him at their meeting. cap. 27.

NOw for that the Captaine Generall had not men inough to gouerne the whole Fleete, he thought good and that by the aduise of the other Captaines, to burne one of those shippes, and that the same should be Saint Raphael, which they determined to doe the rather, forsomuch as the same was al open, and they had not brought him a grounde as they did the others, and also determined to burne the same vppon the shoels of Saint Raphael, vnto which place they came on the Sunday following, where (what for taking in of her furniture, as also for burning the same) he spent fiue daies, and during that time from a village the which is called Tangata, there were brought to sell many hens. This being done the Captaine Generall departed, hauing with him in his shippe his brother called Paulo de la Gama, and on the xx. of Februarie he found himselfe with onely Nicholas Coello in the Iland of Zenziber, which standeth in the altitude of fiue degrées, lieng but ten leagues from the firme land. This Iland is verye greate with the other two that standeth nére vnto it, whereof the one is called Pemba, and the other Mofya, and are verye fertill, and haue in them great store of victualls. Their groues are of Dzenge

The Raphaell burned.

The Ile of Zenziber.

trées, which bringeth forth goodly Orenges. They are inhabited by Moores, which are but a weake kinde of people, and they haue but small store of weapons, howbeit they goe very well apparelled, in silke and fine cloath made of Cotten, the which they doe buye in Mombassa, of Merchants of Cambaya. The women haue store of iewells of golde from Sofala, and of siluer from the Iland of Saint Larence. They are merchants & their trade is in the firme land, and thether they do carry victuals to sell in litle boats. Each of these Ilands hath a king of himselfe, the which also doe obserue Mahomets lawe as all the rest of the subiectes doe.

As soone as the king of Zenzibar heard that the Captaine Generall was there arriued, he sent to visit him and sent him great presents of the fruits of the country, requesting him of his friendship, to the which he agreed. After all this he departed on the first of March, and came to an Anker before the Ilands of Saint George in Monsanbique, and the next day after he sent a marke to be erected within that Ilande, where at his going thether he heard Masse, & without any conuersation with those of Monsanbique he departed. And on the third of March he came to the Iland of Saint Blase, where he stayed to take in his water, and to victuall himselfe of Sea woulfes, and of Solitarios, which they salted to eate whilest they were on the sea, and for the same they gaue God great thanks. After that they were departed from thence (being once before putte back with westerly winds) which blew right against them, God of his goodnes sent them so prosperous a winde, that on the twentith of March, they hadde doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with great pleasure, forsomuch as all those that came thether were all in health and verie strong, and as they thought were all in good liking to arriue at Lisshborne.

And finding here a colde Winde which endured well twentye dayes, did set them in a good forwardnesse towarde the Ilande of Santiago, which by their Sea cardes

was

was by the Pilots well known not to bee at the vttermost a hundred leagues from thence. Some there were that thought themselues to bee with the same, but it was not so.

Heere that goodly and fayre winde did faile them, and forsomuch as the Captaine Generall would needes knowe where that he was, (for that hee coulde not tell) by reason there fell certeine showers which came from the landewarde, he commaunded to make as much waye as they coulde possible. And going after this sorte, on Thursdaye being the xvi. of Aprill, he commaunded the Pilot to let fall his Plommet, who founde that they were in xvi. fathome.

Yet in all that daye, sailing and keeping the selfe same course, the least water that they came to, was at xx. fathome, and therefore the Pilottes iudged themselues to bee vppon the shoels Del zio Grande. All the rest of this voyage particularlye what aduentures the Captaine Generall did passe, vntill such time as he came to the Ilande of Santiago, I coulde not come to the knowledge thereof, but only how that as they went neere to the same, Nicholas Coello to carry the king newes of this discouerie, did on a certeine night a parte himselfe from the Captaine Generall, and followed his course vnto Portingale, where hee arriued at a place called Cascais on the x. of July, in the yeare of our Lorde God. 1499. who informed the king of all that the Captaine Generall hadde past in the discouery of the Indias, and of the commodytyes that he had brought with him from thence. Of whose discouery the king was so gladde to heare of, and that they might trade into the Indias by sea, as when he was proclaimed king of the kingdomes of Portingale. Now after that the Captaine Generall founde missing Nicholas Coello hee went forwarde on his course towarde the Ilande of Santiago, for because his Brother was verye sicke of a Tyssicke, and also for that his Shippe made but small waye, for that shee was all open, and therefore hee did

did fraight there a Caruell which he found there for to carrye him to Portingale before that he ſhould dye, who left there Iohn de Sala for Captaine of his ſhip as I ſayd before, who as ſone as the ſhip was new rigged, had charge to bring the ſame to Portingale, from the which place the Generall departed, with his brother in the Caruell, whoſe infirmitie did dayly increaſe, in ſuch ſort that the Captaine Generall was driuen to beare with the Iland of the Terceras. And being there arriued, commaunded that his brother might be brought a lande, where he was ſo cruellye handled with his diſeaſe that he dyed thereof, who at his end ſhewed himſelfe to be a good and perfect chriſtian, and a very honeſt Gentleman. After that he was dead and buried, the Captaine Generall departed toward Portingale, who came to Belen in the moneth of September, in the ſelfe ſame yere. 1499. being two yere & two moneths paſt after his departure frō Liſhborne, with 108. men & of them came backe but fiftie aliue, which conſidering they great trauaile and trouble that they had paſt, was verye much. After that the Captaine Generall had giuen God greate thanks for that he had eſcaped ſo many great daungers, he ſent word of his arriuall vnto the king of Portingale, who for the great pleaſure that he receiued of his comming ſent Don Diego de la Silua de Meneſis, Lord of portugalete, with many other Gentlemen to receiue him as they did, & brought him vnto ꝑ court wᵗ an exceeding great number of people, that came thether to ſee ſo new & rare a matter, as that was of ꝑ Captaine General, not onely for that he had done, but alſo for that they tooke him for dead: being come to the kings preſence, his highneſſe gaue him ſo great an honour as ſuch a one deſerued, who by the diſcouerie of the Indias, did giue ſo great a glorie vnto the eternall God, and honour and profit to the crowne and kingdome of Portingale, and a perpetuall fame to all the world. Afterward he made him knight, & to him and to his heires for euer he gaue for armes the royal armes of Portingal, & alſo to ſet at the foote of the Scutchin two Does the which they call

Gamas,

Gamas. Also he gaue him towarde this his liuing three hundred thousand Reis a yeare, the which may be worth of our money 200. pound a yeare, and this to be paied out of the tithes of the fish in the village of Sinis. Moreouer hee promised him to make him Lord of the said village, for so much as he was borne there. And vntill such time that he could giue him ỹ same, he allowed him a thousand crowns a yeare, the which he did well performe, from that time forwarde, and after that he had receiued the possession therof, he did passe it ouer vnto the house appointed, for the contraction of the Indias. Moreouer he graunted him that after the trade of the Indias was setteled or established, that then he might lade for his own account to the sum of. 200. Duckats in spices, & that without paieng for the same any custome at all. Also he gaue him other possessions & rents and a bill of remembraunce to make him Lorde. As for Nicholas Coello, he made him a Gentleman of his house, and gaue him possessions, and did allowe him some recompence toward his charges. The king himselfe with this new discouerie did increase his titles with a newe and a famous stile, of Lorde of the conquest and nauigation of Aethiopia, Arabia, Persia, and of the Indias.

How the king of Portingale did nominate A pedro al Verez Cabral for Captaine Generall of a Fleete towarde Calicut, for to settle there a factorie, and of his departure from Lishborne. Chap. 28.

BEeing certainlye knowne to the king of Portingale, that from his kingdome there is a nauigation to the Indias, and also of the innumerable riches, & that ther are in those parts among the Gentiles, sundrye Christians, did therfore determine to prosecute and followe the discouerye of the same, giuing all praise and laude vnto the eternall God, for his great bene-

The preparation vnto ỹ second voiage.

T. fits

stes that he hath bestowed vpon him, to let him be the first that hath discouered this new worlde, the which hath alwayes beene so close vpon the Sea, that there hath beene none in all Europe that durst aduenture that waye. But hee not remembring the trouble of his spirite, neyther yet the spending of his treasure, nor the daunger of his subiects, woulde neuerthelesse take this most laughtie enterprise in hande, for that there might bee in the Indias publyshed the Euangelicall lawe, to the ende that those kinde of lost people, might receiue the same, as also for the increasing, not onelye of his owne treasure, but generallye the benefite of all his subiects.

And that the same might take the better effect, hee determined to giue the attempt (if it were possible) to settle a Factorye in Calycut by gentlenesse; for as hee once vnderstoode that the dwellers in the same were inclined to trade, he thought that after this sort there wold grow betweene them and vs conuersation, and so a friendshippe, the which might bee an occasion that they woulde incline themselues to heare the worde of God preached. And beeing thus fullye determined, hee commaunded to bee in a readinesse against the next yeare following, a Fléete of ten shippes and two Caruells, which shoulde goe well laden with all such thinges as Vasco de la Gama shoulde informe him to bee spent in Calycut. Also there went others towarde Sofala and Quyloa, where also hee commaunded certaine Factorye to bee setteled, not onelye for the golde which they haue there, but also that theyr shippes might alwayes touch there. And concerning such as shoulde bee appointed for Calycut, he named for Captaine Generall of this Fléet, a Gentleman called Pedro Aluares Cabral, who came of an honourable house of the Cabralls, and for his pettie Captaine, a Gentleman called Sancho de Toar. The names of the other Captaines as manye as I knewe were these, Nicholas Coello, Don Luis continuo, Simon de Myseranda, Simon Leyton, Bartholome Dyas, who discouered the Cape Buena Esperansa, Dyego Dyas,

The names of the Generalls Captaines, & Factors.

his

his brother, ỹ which went before for purser with Vasco de la Gama. Those that wer Captaines of ỹ Caruels were one Pedro de Taide, and Vasco de la Siluera, and for Factor of the whole Fléte, was one Aries Correa, who likewise should remaine for Factor in Calycut, and for his clarkes there were appointed one named Gonsalo Gyl Barbasa, & Pedro vas Caninon. Of this Fléte there shoulde remaine and staie with the Merchants and Merchaundise in Sofala two ships, and with the same shoulde continue for Factor one called Loriso Hurdato. In this Fléet ther went. 500. men. The Articles which the Capcaine Generall carryed in his instructions, besides those of the setling of the Factorie was, ỹ if so be ỹ the king of Calycut would not quietly consét, or giue sufficient lading, for those ships which he caried nor consent to haue the factorie setled there: That then he should make him most cruell war, for the iniury which he shewed vnto Vasco de la Gama. And if so bee that the Factorie might be quietly setteled, then he should request the king in secret that he doe not consent in Calycut, or in anye other of his harbours belonging to his kingdome, any of the Moores of Meca to remaine ther, forsomuch as hee would send him from hence forth all such Merchaundise as they doe bring, and that farre better cheap then they doe sell the same. Moreouer, that in their waye they doe touch at Milinde to set ther a land the Embassador, which Vasco de la Gama brought from thence, and to sende the king a present. Also the king did send with the Fléte fiue Friers of the order of Saint Fraunces, of whome went for Vicar, a Frier called Fraij Henriques, the which was afterward Bishop of Siebta, and he to remaine in the Factorie, to preach the Catholike faith vnto the Malabars. The Fléet being dispatched, the king in person on Sunday being the. viii. of March went to heare Masse at the Monasterie of Belem, going thether in Procession, hauing the Captaine Generall, the which heard Masse with him, within the curten, for on that sort, he ment to giue honour to such as did serue him in such daungerous affaires as this was.

Friers sent to the Malabars.

The Maſſe was ſaid after the Portingale order, and at the ſame there was a Sermon made by Don Diego Ortis, who was then Biſhoppe of Vyſeu, who gaue great praiſe vnto the Captaine Generall for accepting the ſaide voiage at the kings hands, ſince that therby he did not onely ſerue the king, who is his temporall Lord, but alſo the eternall God, who is ſpirituall. And alſo that euery one might wel know that none of all the nobles, the which are ſo highlye commended as well in the Grecian hiſtories as in the Latine and barbarous, was equall vnto the Captaine Generall in taking vpon him this voyage. And further he gaue him other greate prayſes for the which hee was enuyed at, the Maſſe being ended, there was a Banner which had the royall armes of Portingale, vpon the ſame deliuered vnto the Biſhoppe, who after that hee had bleſſed the ſame, the king with his owne hand did deliuer it vnto the Captaine Generall, for to beſtowe it in his maine toppe. And after that he had receiued the ſame, he toke at the Biſhops hands a bonnet or night cap the which the Pope had bleſt, and ſent for a great iewell, and with his owne hands did put the ſame on the Captaine Generalls head, ſaying that he did preſent vnto him a iewell the which he did much eſteeme. And afterward that the Biſhop had giuen him his bleſſing, the king with the ſame did accompanie him to the water ſide, where the Captaine generall with al the Captaines of the fleete toke their leaue of the king, and did kiſſe his hands, and the king gaue them Gods bleſſing & his, with the which they went all a boorde, from whence they ſhot off all the ordinance that was in the Fleete, the which made a wonderfull noiſe. The king being returned to Liſhborne, for that the Fleete could not that daye departe, by reaſon of the weather. The nexte daye which was the ninth of March, in the yeare of our Lorde. 1500. hauing a ſufficient good gale of winde, with the which the Fleete might goe out of the Riuer. The Captaine Generall did then make a ſigne that the reſt of the Fleete ſhoulde weye their Ankors, the which immediatlye they

A iewell of great price.

did

did begin with great diligence and triumph that the Marriners made. And when it was eight of the clocke in ỹ morning the whole Fléete hauing wayed, did then begin to cut and spread their sayles with a great pleasure, and crie saieng altogether, Buen viage, that is to say, A luckie and prosperous voyage. After all this they beganne all to be ioyfull, euerye man to vse his seuerall office, the Gunner in the midst of the ship, haling the maine shootes, with the Capsteine. The Mariners and ship boyes, some in the forecastell haling bollings, braces, and Martnets: other belying the shootes both great and small, and also seruing in trimming the sayles, and others the nettings and foretop sayles, other some bering the trusses and also beleying braces and toppe sayle shootes, and coyling euery sort of ropes. It was wonderfull to see such a number of diuersities of offices, in so small a rome, as is the breath and length of a ship. All the Fléete being vnder sayle, departed that daye without anye stay by a quarter winde, and béeing with the same vnder sayle, on the xiiij. of March, they came within the sight of the Canarias, and on the xvij. of the same moneth, they past by the Iland called Santiago, and on the xviiij. of the same moneth, they lost the company of one of their ships, of the which went for Captaine one Vasco de Tayde, who was Captaine of the Fléete also, although he neuer declared the same, the which neuer after was séene.

¶How the Captaine generall came vnto Brasill, and afterward how there was lost foure ships of the Fleete. Chap. 29.

This ship being thus gone, the Captaine generall tarried for the same two dayes, and on the xviiij. of Aprill they did descry land, of the which they were verye glad, not only for that they had discouered the same, but because that the Pilots supposed the

A newe land diſcouered.

ſame to be ſome other land, that Vaſco de la Gama had not diſcouered, for that it ſtode to the Eaſt, and immediatly the Captaine Generall commaunded his Maſter to goe in his ſmall boate and to ſee what kinde of people were thoſe that dwelt in the ſayd Countrey, who retourned with an anſwere, ſaieng, that the ſame lande was a goodly fayre and fertill Countrey, in the which there were great ſtore of woodes, and that there walked many men along the water ſide: with this newes, the Captaine generall came to an Ankor, & ſent once more his Maſter with great diligence to enforme himſelfe of the Countrey and of their dwellings, and found that the people were of colour ſomewhat blacke, and men well proportioned, howbeit they went all naked, hauing both bowes and arrowes. But when night was come, there fell ſo great a ſtorme that the Captaine generall with all the reſt of the Fléte, were faine to wey theyr Ankors, and runne along the Coaſt, vntill ſuch time as they found a good Port, in the which they came to an Ankor, vnto the which the Captaine generall did giue for name, Puerto Seguro, forſomuch as the ſame ſerued for all Wethers. Heere our men toke two men of that Countrey, the which went in an Almaldia, who were brought before the Captaine generall, that he might informe himſelfe what Countrey that was, which could not be knowen notwithſtanding, forſomuch as there was none in all the fléte that could vnderſtand them, by any tokens or ſignes. The Captaine generall ſeing ỹ ther was no meanes for to informe himſelfe by thẽ, cõmanding to giue them apparell, ỹ the others might be deſirous to bring thẽ victuals to ſel, wᵭ other things which they had in their country, & with this they went their way, wᵭ great ioy of ỹ Captain generals gift. And when they wer come aland amongſt their cõpanions, & they perceiued their good entertainment, did aduenture to come to conferre with our men. The Captain general finding himſelf indifferently in this country, did determine to take in freſh water to cõfort his men wᵭall, for ỹ he knew not when he ſhuld chance wᵭ like oppoꝛtunitie. And for ỹ God might ỹ rather aid thẽ,

he

he commanded on ỹ next day, which was on Easter weeke, a Masse shuld be said a land, ỹ which was so done wᵗ great solennitie & that vnder a pauillion, in which ther was made a Sermon by Fraij Henrique, Doctor of Diuinitie. And whileſt ỹ diuine seruice was a celebrating, there assembled many of ỹ country people together, which shewed theſelues to be very merry wᵗ playeing & leaping which they made, besides their sounding vpon cornets, horns, & other instrumẽts. After Masse was ended, & that ỹ Captaine generall was going a ship bord, these people went wᵗ him vntil he toke his boat, singing & making a thousand manner of pastimes: this day after dinner, ỹ Captain generall gaue our men license to go a land to buy & sell wᵗ them, which they did, & in truck of paper & cloth they gaue them parrats, & other sundry sort of birds, which were all very faire, wherof they haue great abundance, with the which they make fethered hats & night caps, which are very gallant. Some of our men ỹ went to see their townes do declare ỹ the same is a godly country & fertill of woods, wᵗ great store of godly waters, & plentie of fruits, & that ther is gathered in ỹ same gret quantitie of cotten. And for ỹ this country is ỹ which we cal Brasil, which to all men is common, I will not speake of ỹ same further, but only ỹ in viii. daies that ỹ Captaine generall staid ther, was seene a fish which ỹ sea did cast a land, ỹ was greater then any Tonel, & of ỹ bredth of twᵒ of thē, howbeit he was round: ỹ head & eyes were much like vnto a hogs, his eares like vnto an Elephants, he had no teeth, but vnder his belly he had two issues, his taile was three quarters of a yard in breadth, & as much in length, his skinne, was lyke vnto a Hogges skinne, which was a finger thicke. In this Ilande the Captaine generall commaunded to be erected a high Crosse of stone, and therfore he gaue the same to name La tierra de Santa Crus. From hence he sent a Caruell which he brought forth with him for the same purpose, with letters vnto the King his Lorde, of all that which had chaunced him vnto this place, and how that he had left there two bannished men of those twentie, the which

Ornamẽts made of Parrats feathers.

The coũtrey of Brasil discouered

he carried with him, to the ende they might better enforme themſelues what Countrey that ſame was, and whether it were a firme lande, as it did appeare vnto them all, by the great diſtance of the Coaſt that they had found, and becauſe of the great voyage which he had taken in hande to make, he could not ſend to know perfectly. With this Caruel he ſent a man of that Countrey for a ſhew, by what kinde of people the ſame was inhabited. This Caruell being departed, the next day after being the ſecond day of May, the Captain generall departed with all his Flæte, bearing his courſe toward the Cape Buena eſperanſa, the which was from thence almoſt 1200. leagues, which is a great and fearfull gulph to paſſe, by reaſon of the great windes which doe courſe in thoſe partes, moſt of the time. And being vnder ſayle in the ſame, on the xii. of May there appeared in the Element a great Comet with hir beames, the which came out of the Orient, and for the ſpace of x. dayes did allwayes appeare as well in the night as in the daye, allwayes inlarging his beames. On Saterday being the xviii. of May, there came amongſt all the Flæte ſuch a ſtorme from the North-eaſt, that all the Flæte was faine to take in their ſayles, hauing the Seas very high mingled with prætie ſhowers of raine And for that the ſame ſtorme was afterwarde ſomewhat abated, they brought themſelues vnder their forſailes againe, and at night the winde being altogether calme, ſuch ſhips as wer left behind, did ſpred out alſo their ſprit ſaile, to ouertake thoſe ẏ went before. And going by a quarter wind, & following their courſe by the South, the ſunday being the xviiii. of May, the winde beganne to increaſe, which was the occaſion that the Captaine generall commanded their ſailes to be taken in, and to fardle vp their ſprits ſailes, the which being done, the like did all the other Captaines, and going on this ſort on Sunday, betweene x. and xi. of the clocke of the day, did begin to arme in the Northweſt a ſpoute, with the which the winde calmed in ſuch ſorte, that the ſailes did beate againſt the Maſt, and the Pilots being (not as yet acquainted with the ſecret ſignification of a ſpoute) for that they

A Comet ſeene in the elemẽt

they had not trauayled those Seas, thought the same to bee a signe of faire weather, and of great calmes: by reason whereof, they neuer made any kinde of alteration in anye thing, appertaining to their sayles. Vpon this on a Sunday, there came such a winde and so furious, that then they had no time to amayne and take in theyr sayles, by reason whereof, there were foure Shippes sunke without escaping one person of them all, and of one of these was Captayne one Bartholomew Dias. The other seauen remayned halfe full of water, which they had taken in, which lykewise had sunke, if so be that parte of theyr sayles had not bene torne.

four ships sunke by tempest.

And after that the winde berred to the Southwest they bare with the same, the which was so great that they were driuen to roue all that daye and the next night following without sailes, so that the one could not see the other, & howsoeuer as yet the returne of any other wind was not come, they were driuen to such daunger that they thought thereby they should lose their liues, forsomuch as the rest of the Fleete was so cast away before their eyes, wherewith they were stroken into a very great pensiuenesse. The nert day the winde being somewhat incalmed, with the same the Fleete did ioyne themselues together againe, and immediatly after, the winde came to the East and Southeast, which was so great that it made the Seas to goe higher then euer they did before, and so the same endured the space of xx. dayes: and all this time the shippes laye a hull, although they proued fiue times to hoyse vp their sayles, as aforesaid. Now the Seas went so high to all theyr iudgementes, they thought it vnpossible for the shippes to escape: for ouer and besides that, by the working of them it was thought, that sometime they did hoyse vp theyr shippes aboue the Element, and other times when the shippes began to descend, they fell as it were downe a monstrous hill, that they feared they should be all swallowed vp in the Intralles of the Earth.

A vvõderful storme and great Seas.

In the daye the water was of the colour of pitch, and

in the night of fire. The tackling with the other furniture of the Shippes, with the great force of the winde, made ſuch a terrible noyſe, and was ſo fearefull to heare, that the ſame is incredible to be beleeued, but by thoſe onelye that endured and paſſed the ſame, with the force of this, the Fleete was ſeparated into ſundry places. The Captaine Generall bare vp with Symon de Myranda, and Pedro de Tayde, whether the winde would carry them: all the others went at Gods mercie.

Of the meeting of the King of Quiloa & the Captaine generall, at which time there was ſet downe a Trade and Factorie, and how the King repented himſelfe of the ſame afterward. Cap. 30.

After that the Captaine Generall had paſt with parte of his Fleete, theſe great ſtormes didde finde himſelfe to haue doubled the Cape, without anye ſight of the ſame, hauing in his company no more then two Shippes, which bare alwayes vp with him. And the Lorde hauing vſed alwaies towardes them his wonderfull great mercie, he came within ſight of the lande the xiiteenth day of July, towarde the which he commaunded to beare, howbeit the Pilots did not knowe the ſame, notwithſtanding they found that it ſtode in the altitude of xvdii. degrees, they were ſo neere vnto lande, that the Shippes laye with their beake heads cloſe to the ſame. But the Captaine generall would not conſent that anye of his men ſhoulde goe a lande: yet from their ſhippes they might eaſilye perceiue, that the ſame was well inhabited, for

for the great number of people they did see there, and yet of all those there came none to the water side, to see what we were.

After that he sawe that there was no hope to haue anye refreshing from thence, hee did afterwarde procure the same from the Sea, where there was great plentie of fish, where our men was driuen to fish for it. Afterwarde the Captaine generall commaunded to weye their Ankors, and to followe his course, so neere vnto the shore, that he might well see great numbers and store of sundrye beastes, which fed along the Riuer, that entred into the Sea, and also they sawe many people.

They cõe to Sofala

Now going on that sort, the Captaine generall did passe vnto Sofala, with the which as yet the Pilot was not acquainted, and being neere to the same, he sawe two Ilandes and right ouer against one of them there was riding at an Ankor two Shippes, which as soone as they had discouered our Fléte, did beginne to flye awaye towarde the shore. And for that the Captaine generall sawe that they fledde, he commaunded to followe them, which was done in such sort that our men did ouertake them, and toke some of them prisoners, for that they did not defende themselues, and concerning the chiefest person that was in these Shippes, the Captaine Generall was aduertised that he was the King of Mylyndes neere kinsman, and was going from Sofala laden with Golde to Mylynde. Who confessed, that when they had descryed our Ships, they receiued such a feare, as though they shoulde bee taken, and that therefore they did throwe the most part of their Golde into the Sea, and they themselues ranne a lande.

After that all this was done, ỹ Captaine general told him that he was very sory for their so great mischance & losse, in especially for so much as the King of Mylynde was in so great a credite with the King of Portingale his Maister, which is the occasion, that all Portingales are and shall bee alwayes at his commaundement. And hauing shewed

vnto him great courteſie, he commaunded the Shippes to be retourned with all the golde they hadde founde in the ſame.

The Moꝛe aſked of him whether he had brought with him any Witches, that they might with woꝛds of inchantment fetch vp ſuch golde as was thꝛowen into the Sea. To whom the Captaine generall made aunſwere, that the Chriſtians doe beléeue in the true God, who hath and doth defende them ſo, that they doe not vſe noꝛ beléeue in witchcraft, and therefoꝛe they do not vſe the ſame. Of this Moꝛe the Captaine generall was aduertiſed, that he hadde ſomewhat ouer runne Sofala, and foꝛ that he would not returne backe, he did at this time leaue it, and hauing diſpatched the Moꝛe, followed his courſe, and on the xx. of July arriued at Monſanbique, where he toke in his water, and a Pilot to carry him to the Ilande of Quiloa, toward the which he directed his courſe, running along the Coaſt. In this his voyage he ſaw ſundꝛy pꝛofitable Ilands which were belonging to the King of Quiloa, which as I haue declared is a great Pꝛince, and is Lꝛd from the Cape De las correntes, almoſt vnto Mombaſſa, ỹ which is welnére foure hundꝛed leagues of Coaſt, in the which there doe enter the two Ilands that I haue ſpoken of befoꝛe, ouer and beſides Sofala, and other ſundꝛy Townes vnto Monſanbique, and from thence as many moꝛe vnto Mombaſſa, with an infinit number of Ilandes, that doth yéld him great rents. Notwithſtanding as touching his eſtate it is but ſmall, foꝛ he is not able to make many men of warre: his abode is alwayes in Quiloa, in a certaine Ilande, which is a hundꝛed leagues beyonde Monſanbique in the Coaſt of Aethiopia, néare to the firme lande, the which is verye fertill of Oꝛchardes, and Wlodes, that beare ſundꝛy ſoꝛts of fruites, there are excellent good waters, and alſo they do reape great ſtoꝛe of Miſo, and other ſéedes which they doe ſow, and there is bꝛed vp in the ſame great ſtoꝛe of ſmall Cattell. In thoſe Seas there is great plentie of Fiſh, and that verye good. So that what with the victualls that they haue in the lande,

The king of Quiloa a mightie Prince.

and

and what there commeth from other places of the firme land, the Citie is plentifully prouided, which citie is compassed about with faire gardens on the one side, & with the sea on the other, which causeth the same to shew very pleasant, it standeth in ix. degrées to the South, & is also greate and full of people. Their houses are made of lime & stone, in the which there are goodly chambers. Their king is a Moore, and so are the inhabitants, the naturall people of the Countrie are a kinde of blacke people, and those that are strangers are white, their common language is Algarauia. They doe apparell themselues very richly, in especiall the women, for they carry alwaies vpon them great store of iewels of gold. They are great Merchants, for their trade is of the gold that commeth from Sofala, and from this citie it is dispearsed to all the Countrie of Arabia Felix, & other places, and therfore there resort thether many merchaunts frō other places. Ther are alwaies in this port many ships which lyeth alwayes a ground when they haue no nēd of thē. These ships haue no nailes, but are sowed together wᵗ ropes made of Cairo, & pitched ouer with wildincense, for because as in all ỹ countrie there is no other kind of pitch. The winter in this countrie doth begin in Aprill, & maketh an end in September. The Captaine Generall bēing come to the harbour of this Citie, and hauing obteined of the king a safe conduct that hée might send him a messenger, did send vnto him Alonso Hurtado, who went accompanied with seauen of the principals of their ships, and that they might shew themselues in more countenaunce & authoritie, they went in their best apparell. Béeing come before the king, he represented vnto him the message which the Captaine Generall gaue him, which was to signifie vnto him ỹ he was come thether with ỹ king of Portingale his Maisters fléete, to settle a trade in ỹ citie, & to the same end had brought with him great store of merchandise ỹ were conuenient to be spent in ỹ country, & therfore he was desirous to talk with him therin, howbeit ỹ king his maister did countermand him ỹ in any wise he shuld not leap a

The description of the city of Quyloa.

Shippes vvithout nailes.

land, but make the agréement a sea boord, forasmuch as that is the auncient custome which the Captaines doe alwaies obserue in his coũtry, because ẏ if so be ther shuld chance any misfortũe to their general, which is their head, immediatly are cast away the rest that are vnder his gouernment. To this the king made answere with a good countenance, ẏ he was also desirous to sée the Captaine Generall, and to speak with him a sea boord, since there was no other remedie, Alonso Hurtado hauing receiued this answere, made ẏ Captaine Generall priuie therof, who ẏ next day after tarryed for ẏ king in his boat, which was couered ouer & set out with flags. There did attend vpon him al the rest of ẏ Captaines in their boates, & at this present arriued there, Sancho de Toar with other two ships. The king thus being looked for, at the length he came in an Almadia, béeing well accompanied with sundrie Gentlemen in other boats, lykewise furnished, which also were set out with flags, and had in them those that sounded vpon trumpets & cornets, & Sagbuts, which made a wonderfull great noise. Now the king being come where the Captaine Generall was tarrieng for him, all his ordinance went of in such sort & with such a force, that it made the sea to tremble, wherwith the king and all his traine, forsomuch as they were not accustomed vnto the same, were greatly afeard. As soone as the ordinaunce went of, the king & the Captaine General met, & that with great pleasure. And after that the king of Portingales letter was read, which was for ẏ setling of a trade in his citie, he answered that he was contented therewith, & did agrée that the next day he should send Alonso Hurtado a land, to tell him the sorts of the merchaundise that he had brought with him, & he wold giue him gold for ẏ same. Vpon this agréement Alonso Hurtado was sent a land the next day following, howbeit he found the king far from ẏ which was agréed vpõ with ẏ captain general ẏ day before, yelding therfore sundry excuses, why he could not accõplish his promise, in especial for ẏ he hadno néed of his merchandise, & also for ẏ he beléeued that ẏ Captaine generall came the-

The meeting of ẏ king & ẏ Captaine Generall.

A malitious & ferfull More

thether to take his country from him. This soeine chance was for this cause, forsomuch as he was a Moore, and wee were christians, it greeued him to haue any conuersation or trade with vs. This being come to ỹ Captaine generalls knowledge, he did as yet tarrye three or foure dayes, to see whether ỹ the king wold change any thing of his determination or not, howbeit he did nothing alter his mind, but rather had our men in iealousie, fearing least that he shuld be driuen to do ỹ by force, which he was loth to do, & therfore did fortifie himselfe with many men in a readinesse. As soone as the Captaine Generall heard of his dealing, he would spend no more time there, but departed toward Milinde, keeping alwaies along the coast.

How the king of Milinde and the Captaine Generall met together, and how hee departed afterwards toward Calicut. Chap. 31.

On the second day of August, he came to an anker in the port of Mylinde, where hee found riding at an anker three ships of ỹ Moores ỹ which wer of ỹ Merchaunts of the kingdome of Cambaya, but he would not meddle with them, although they were laden wt great riches, because of ỹ king of Milinde. Being come with al his fleet to an anker, he saluted ỹ citie wt all his ordinance. The king with this sent to visit him, sending also vnto him for a present, both sheep, ducks, & hens, wout all number, besides sundrie sorts of fruits. Then ỹ Captain generall sent likewise to kisse his hands, by one of his fleet, & also to signifie vnto him, ỹ thether he was come by his Maister ỹ king of Portingales cõmandement, to know whether he had any need of this fleet to do him seruice wall, & also to certifie him, ỹ he had to deliuer vnto him a rich present, with a letter, the which ỹ king his maister had likewise sent vnto him, which he wold send whẽsoeuer he wold cõmand ỹ same, with this message ỹ king shewed himself to be wel pleased, & cõmanded the messenger to remaine with him that night, with whom he talked and spent most part thereof in matters of Portingale.

And

The kings meſſage to ỹ Captaine Generall.

And as ſoone as it was day the king ſent by two principall Moores word vnto the Captaine Generall, that he was very glad of his comming, and alſo to knowe whether he had néede of anye thing in his countrie which he might commaund as his owne, and make as much account thereof, while he was there, as if he were in Portingale, conſidering the greate good will which hée doth owe vnto the king of Portingale, and that in all his affaires he ſhuld make as much reckoning as of his owne home. The Captaine Generall hauing well vnderſtood the kings meſſage, vpon the ſame determined to ſend him the kings letter, which hée had brought, and alſo the preſent, which was all the furniture of a Jennet horſe, which was alſo both rich & gallant. And hauing taken his counſel vpon ỹ ſame, it was agréed vpon to ſend it, and that Aries Correa ſhould haue the cariage thereof, forſomuch as hée was the factor of the whole Fléete, and alſo for that hée went for Factor to the king of Calicut, and that he ſhould ſo goe accompanyed with the principalls of the Fleet, beſides the trumpetors, that ſhould goe alwaies ſounding before him, which was ſo done. The king being informed of ỹ cõming of Aries Correa, ſent of the nobles of his Court to receiue him, which might the more eaſilye bée done, for that the kings pallaice was hard by the water ſide, and going altogether, there were certeine women which by the kings commaundement were tarryeng for their comming, with perfuming pans in their hands, out of the which there came ſo excellent a perfume, that it did repleniſh the whole earth therewith. And paſſing after this ſorte by theſe women, hée came to the kings pallaice, who was ſitting in his chaire of eſtate, and accompanyed with many noble mẽ & Gentlemen, who alſo receiued Aries Correa with great honour and pleaſure, and alſo the preſent. Afterward he gaue him the letter which was written on both ſides, on the one ſide was ỹ Portingale, ỹ other in the Arabian tongue, which the king commanded forthwith to be read, which both he and all the nobilitie were very gladde to heare. And all they together with a lowde

voice

voice gaue God and Mahoma great thanks that they had permitted them to haue friendship wᵗ so great a Prince as ẏ king of Portingale. And also being very wel pleased with the furniture of the Jenet, he requested Aries Correa to stay with him, whilest the Flẽte did there remaine, which with the Captaine Generalls license he did, & during the three daies that he was with him, almost he spent his time in no other thing, but to knowe the vse & custome of the king of Portingale, & of the order of his gouernment, & also particularly as thongh ẏ he did remember no other matter all ẏ time, & being desirous to see ẏ Captain general, did procure with as much diligẽce as he could to haue him a land, & to bring him to his pallaice, notwithstanding he made his excuse, saieng, ẏ the king his master had commanded him not to come a land in any port, with this answere ẏ king was driuen to encounter with him vpon the water, who would nẽds go as far as ẏ water side on horsback, with ẏ furniture of a Jenet ẏ the king of Portingale had sent him. And for ẏ in his country he had none ẏ could tel ẏ order therof, he requested one of our men to do so much. And when the king had all things in a redines, ther wer tarrieng for him certein of ẏ principals, at ẏ foot of a staire, & amongst them ther was brought a liue shẽp, which whilest ẏ king was cõming down, they did open as he was aliue, & after ẏ they had taken out his guts & bowels, they laid ẏ same vnder ẏ horse fẽt. The king being now on horsbacke he went also with his horse vpon ẏ shẽpe, which is a kinde of ceremony ẏ the witches ther do vse. After ẏ he had thus troden vpon the shẽpe, he went toward ẏ water side, with all his company after him a foot, saieng wᵗ a lowd voice certein words of witchcraft. And after this sort he met with the Captaine Generall vpon ẏ water, where he deliuered him a Pilot to carrie him to Calycut. Here there were lefte with the king two of those banished men that they might enforme themselues of the countrie, as farre as in their strength, one of those was called afterwarde Machado, who after that he had gotten the Arabian language, went by lande

Paganish superstition

vnto the straights, and from thence vnto the kingdome of Cambaya, from whence he did passe to Balagarte, and did there settle himselfe, with the Sabayo, that was Lorde of Goa, saieng, that he was a Moore, and for the same, he was taken in all that Countrie, this his trauell was very profitable to Alonso de Alburquerque, as you shall perceiue hereafter.

How the Captaine Generall arriued at Calycut, and how the king sent to visit him a boord his ship, and also how afterward he came a land for to see him, and of his receiuing there. Cap. 22.

The Captaine Generall being returned to his ships, departed toward Calycut, being the 7. day of August, & on the 20. he came to Anfadina, wher he staied certeine daies for the comming of the shippes of Meca, with intent to set vpon thē if so be y they came thether. And whilest they were there, they did confesse themselues, and afterward did receiue the Sacrament, And they seeing that there came no ships, departed toward Calycut, and on the 13. of September he came to an anker within a league of the same. And immediatly there came certeine Almadias toward our fleete, to sell victuals, & also there came certein Nayres of y moste principall belonging to y king of Calicut, with a certeine Guzarate merchant, by whom y king sent word vnto y Captaine General, y there could not haue happened a better thing vnto him then to vnderstand y he was come vnto his port, & that hee could not do him no better pleasure thē to command him, if ther were any thing in his citie y he had need of, & he would accomplish y same with great good will: whervnto y Captaine generall made answere with great thanks, & seeing wt what good will y king sent to visit him, he brought himself to an anker neere vnto y citie, alwaies shooting of his ordinance, with y which he did salute thē, which was so great a wonder

The king of Calycuts message to y Captaine Generall.

der to the dwellers, that those that were Gentiles said, that against vs there were no resistaunce. The next daye following by the consent of the Captaines of the Fléete, the Captaine Generall sent by one whose name was Gaspar, to demaund a safe conduct of the king for to send a messenger vnto him, sending also with the saide Gaspar those foure Malabars that Don Vasco de la gama had carried from Calicut. These went all apparelled in a gallant sort, after the Portingales order, whom all the citie came forth to see, who meruailed to beholde them to returne so well, which was the cause that they were so well pleased with our men, & that they were had in so great reputation. But forsomuch as these were but fisher men the king would not see thē, although he was glad to vnderstand after what sorte they returned, & commaunded ỹ the said Gaspar should be brought before him, whome he receiued very well. And after that he knew wherfore he came, aunswered him, that whosoeuer of our men would come a lande, might without any feare at all. This answere béeing come to ỹ Captaine Generalls eares, he sent presently vnto the king Alonso Hurtado, to signifie vnto him ỹ the said fléet belonged to the king of Portingale, of the which he went for Captaine Generall, and that his comming thether was for no other purpose but onely to settle wᵭ him a trade & friendship, for the which it was conuenient for him, to talke with him. Howbeit hée sayde, the king his Maister hadde commaunded him, that he shoulde not doe it, without he might for the assurance of his person, receiue some pledges to remaine in the shippes whileſt hée was a lande with the king, and that the one of those pleadges should be the Catuall of Calicut, and Araxamenoca, the which is one of the principallest Nayres: And another there went with Alonso Hurtado, one that coulde speake the language, which shoulde declare vnto the king the effect of the message.

The king of Calicut maketh excuses vvhen he should deliuer pledges

The king béeing héereof informed meruailed much to heare that the Captaine general did demand those pledges,

which he did excuſe to giue, forſomuch as they were ſickly & olde, howbeit he ſaid he would giue others that coulde better abide the braueneſſe of the ſea. But afterwards hée did inſiſt very much, not to giue any pleadges at all, forſomuch as thoſe that were Moores were verye ſorie to ſée our men in Calycut, and gaue the king counſell to ſende none, for that in giuing of any he might wel iudge therin ỹ the Captaine Generall had but little confidence in him, and by this meanes he ſhould remaine diſhonoured. Yet for al this Alonſo Hurtado did ſtill inſiſt in his demaunde. In this encountrie they ſpent three daies. At the end the king hauing a deſire to haue a trade ſetled with ours, for the beneſit that might redound vnto him by the ſame, did conſent to Alonſo Hurtado his requeſt, in giuing the pleadges that were demaunded, which being come to the Captaine Generalls knowledge, he began to make himſelfe in a readineſſe to goe and ſpeake with the king, and to remaine a land three or foure daies, apointing in his place Sancho de Toar, to whom he gaue commaundement that there ſhuld be made for thoſe pleadges at their comming aboord good entertainment, and to loke well vnto them, and not to deliuer them to any that ſhould come to demaunde them, although they came in his name.

On the xviii. daye of December the Captaine Generall put himſelfe in his beſt apparell, and carryed with him thirtie of the principall men of his Fléte, which ſhoulde remaine with him a lande, with others that were the kings ſeruauntes, which ſhoulde attende vppon him as vpon the kings own perſon. Hée commanded alſo to bée carryed with him all the furniture for his Chamber and Kitchin, with his Cupboorde of Plate, in the which there were many rich péces of ſiluer gilted.

Nowe béing with all theſe thinges in a readyneſſe to depart, there came from the Citie ſundry principall Nayres, which were commaunded by the king to attende vppon the Captaine Generall, accompanyed with manye men, beſides others that came ſounding vppon Trum-

pets,

pets, other vppon Sackbuts and other instrumentes. The Captaine generall being informed that the King was tarrieng for him in a certaine Galerie, which onelye for to receiue him in, he had commaunded to be made harde by the water side, toke his boate and went toward the shore, being accompanied with all the other boats of ỹ Flæte, which went all in good order, and set out with manye flagges and trumpets, which being ioyned together as wel these as those that came from the Citie, made a wonderfull noyse. With this came those pledges aboord the Generalls ship, into the which they were loath to enter, vntill such time that ỹ Captaine generall did disimbarke himselfe a lande, giuing thereby to vnderstand that they wer afeard that they being once aboord, he would returne againe into the Flæte, and so take them for captiues. They did stand so much vpon the same, that Aries Correa was faine to tell them, that without any suspition they might enter into the shippe, forsomuch as the Captaine generall was not come thether for to deceiue the King, but onely for to get his good will, with this they were contented, to goe aboorde, yet it was with some feare, that he would take them captiues. In the meane while that we were about this the Captaine generall landed, where there was tarrieng for him sundry Caymales and Pynacales, and other principall Nayres, being accompanied with many others. And before that the Captaine generall coulde set his feete on the grounde, he was taken vp, and put in an Andor or chaire, in the which he was carried to the Serame, accompanied with the multitude aboue saide. Being come to this place, he entered into a certaine house where the King was, whome he founde in this order. The house was hanged ouer with Carpets, or as they call them Alcatifas, at the ende whereof, there was a certaine place where the King was sitting, made much lyke vnto a lyttle Chappell, and ouer the Kings head did hang the cloth of Estate, of vnshorne Crimson veluet, and vnder him and about him, were twentie cushions of silke. The King himselfe was all naked, sauing that about his middle he had a cloth

Pleadges are sent aboorde, which feare to be taken captiue.

The king of Calycuts state & furniture.

made of Cotten, which was white as ſnowe, and wrought ouer with golde. On his head he had a night cap of cloath of golde, which was made of the faſhion of an head peece or ſkull. On his eares he had hanging certaine Jewelles, of Diamonds, Saphyres and Pearles, of the which ther was two bigger then Walnuts. On his armes from the elbow to the hande he had ſundrye Bracelettes of Golde, in the which there were precious Stones, and that without number, and of a wonderfull valewe. Moreouer on his legs from the knees downward, and on the fingers of his handes, and the toes of his feete, and eſpecially on his great toe, there was a ring, in the which there was a Rubie ſo great and fine, that it gaue ſuch a light as was wonderfull: amongſt al which ſtones, ther was a Diamond bigger then a great Beane. But all this was nothing in compariſon of his girdell, which was made of Golde and Stone that the ſame was aboue all price, and out of it there came ſuch a reſplendour or brightnes, that it blinded mens eyes to loke vpon it.

There ſtode harde by him a Chaire of eſtate of golde and ſiluer, wrought in the beſt manner, full of precious ſtone, and of the ſelfe ſame ſort was the Andor in the which he was brought from his Pallaice, which alſo ſtod there. Alſo there were twentie Trumpets, whereof ſeauenteene were of ſiluer, and the other three of golde, the mouthes whereof, were finely wrought and ſet with ſtone. Alſo ther was a Baſon of golde in the which he did ſpit, and certaine perfuming pans of ſiluer, out of the which, ther came an excellent ſmell. And for eſtate ſake ther wer lighted certain Lampes of Dyle, which were after the Moores order, the which were alſo made of ſiluer. Sixe paces from the King, ſtod his two brethren, which were heires vnto the Kingdome after him, and ſomewhat further off ſtod many Noble men, they all ſtanding vpright vppon their feete.

Of

¶ Of the meeting of the Captaine generall, and the King of Calycut and how there was deliuered vnto him the Kings present which he brought, and afterward what hapned. Chap. 23.

He Captaine generall being entered into this place, and viewing the Kings estate, would haue gone to kisse the Kings handes, as it is commonly vsed amongst vs: but for that he was enformed by those that stode by, that it was not the vse and custome amongst them, he did it not. Howbeit ther was a Chaire appointed him that was hard by the Princes seate, in ỹ which the Captaine generall did sit, that from thence he might declare his minde to the King, which was the greatest honor that he could giue him. Being set downe, he deliuered his letter of credite, which he brought from the King of Portingale, written in the Arabian tongue which being read by the King, ỹ Captaine generall also told his message, the effect wherof was this, That ỹ King of Portingale was desirous of his friendship, & to settle a Factorie in Calycut, in the which there shoulde be sufficient of all kinde of Merchandize that should be spent there, & in trucke of the same, or for ready mony, he requested that he would let him haue sufficient lading of spices for those ships there. The King shewed himselfe to be content with this Embassage, & aunswered the Captaine generall that he wold yeld the King of Portingale out of his Citie, all that he shoulde haue nede of. While they two were in this talke, came thether the present which the Captaine generall had brought, in the which wer these peeces, a Bason of siluer and gylt wrought, a fountaine to the same, a Cuppe with his couer gylt, of the same worke, two Basses of siluer, foure Cushions, two of them of cloath of golde, and other two of Crimson Veluet vnthorne, a Cloath of Estate of Golde, being welted and garded with the selfe same Golde, and of Crimson

The Captaine generall deliuereth his letters of credite to the king of Calicut

The present which ỹ generall brought with him

Crimſon veluet a verye fine Carpet, two clothes of Arras, the which were very rich, the one with figures, and the other with greene workes. Of this preſent, and of the Emballage which the Captaine generall had done vnto him, as it appered, the King was very glad, and tolde the Captaine generall that he might goe to his lodging to reſt himſelfe, or els to his ſhips as he would himſelfe, for that he thought neceſſary to ſend for his Pledges, which are Gentlemen and daintely brought vp, and could not awaye with the Sea, to tarry there longer. And whileſt they were ther, he was aſſured, that they would neither eate nor drinke for ſuch was their cuſtome. And if ſo be that the Captaine generall wold goe to his ſhips, and come the next day againe, to make full agreement and conſent about the order of the trade in Calicut, he would then ſend thoſe Pledges againe. The Captaine generall hauing good confidence in thoſe his wordes, went to his ſhips, leauing behinde him with his ſtuffe, Alonſo Hurtado with other ſeauen. And being at the water ſide ready to departe, a ſeruaunt of one of thoſe Pleadges, went before aboord in a ſmall Pinnace, and tolde them that the Captaine generall did retourne aborde, this meſſenger was ſent by the commaundement of the Clearke and Controller of the Kings houſe, as who ſhoulde ſaye, to giue them counſayle to come their waye, which they did, as ſone as they heard what the ſlaue had tolde them in their language, and with that they leapt into the Sea, thinking to take that Pinace in the which the ſlaue went. As ſone as Aries Correa ſaw this, he leapt into his owne boate, which was harde by the ſhips ſide with certaine of his Marriners and rowing with force take two of the Pledges, and alſo three or foure of thoſe that were in the Pinace, the other fled and carried the Catuall with them, which was alſo one of the Pledges. This being concluded, the Captaine generall came aboord, who after that he had knowen what had paſſed, becauſe that thoſe Pledges the which he had in his cuſtodie, ſhould not returne and runne their waye, he commaunded them to be put vnder the hatches of his ſhip, and

after-

afterward sent to complain to the King of that which they had done, laieng all the fault vpon the Clarke Controller. Also he sent worde after what sort they remained in his ship, promising, that if so be ý he wold send him his stuffe, & such of his men as remained a land, he would immediatly sende those Pleadges which he had: and for that it was night, there was no more at that time done. The next daye following, the King came to the water side, accompanyed with xii. thousand men, and sent with the Captaine Generalls stuffe and men, to the number of thirtie Almadias, for that they might returne with those Pledges that did remaine aboord, howbeit for all that they were so many, yet there durst none of them come nére the ships, for the feare they stode in of our men, which remained in the Flete, least they wold take them, and so they returned with the same againe to land. The Captaine Generall séeing the feare that they stod in of his Flete, sent the next daye in certaine of his owne boates those Pledges that he had in custodie, commaunding that they should goe, and se them deliuered somwhat alose of from the fleet, that brought him his men and stuffe. And while they were deliuering the same, Araxamenoca which was the eldest of the Pledges, leaped into the water vppon a sodaine, with intent to runne away, but for all that he could not escape, forsomuch as our men caught hande fast of him. The other that remained, whilest our men were thus busied fled lykewise. The lyke did Alonso Hurtado practise with fiue of those that wer with him. The Captaine generall mervailed to se how little honestie or truth they vsed, did therefore commaund Araxamenoca to be well loked vnto. And being three dayes past, and yet the King not sending for him, he had pittie to se him that in so many dayes he had eaten nothing, and thervpon he sent him to the King, also he sent sundry weapons which were taken of his mens, and requested him to send the other two of his men that were yet a land, which the King did sende, being moued therevnto, more for shame then otherwise, for that he had broken his word & promise. Now being three dayes

Humaine pity in the Captaine generall towvard faithlesse Infidells

paſt, and there came no kinde of aunſwere vnto the Captaine generall, thereby he had ſufficient tryall or vnderſtanding how variable he was, and therefore he woulde tarrye no longer for his aunſwere, but ſent vnto him to knowe whether he wold make an end of the agrément ỹ was begun betwéene them, and for the concluſion of the ſame hée would ſende Aries Correa which came with him for Factor. Howbeit for the better aſſuraunce therof, he willed him to ſend him certaine Pledges. This meſſage was ſent to the King by a certaine Gentleman called Franciſco Correa, which did offer himſelf to carry the ſame, when all the reſt of the Fléete was afeard, leaſt that the King woulde take him priſoner, or command him to be ſlaine. To this meſſage ỹ king made anſwere ỹ he was well pleaſed to agrée to haue the Trade ſetled, and that he ſhoulde ſende vnto him Aries Correa about the ſame or whom els he ſhould thinke good. But firſt of all he tolde him that he woulde ſende two Nephewes of one Goſarate, which is a great rich Merchaunt, for pledges, which indéed was ſo done. After that thoſe pledges were entred, immediately departed toward the land Aries Correa, to whom the King commaunded to be giuen a faire houſe to lye and reſt himſelfe and to lay his Merchandize in, which he brought with him, which houſe belonged to Goſarate, who was Grandfather to thoſe two Pledges, that the king had ſent. But he commanded that foraſmuch as Aries Correa, was yet not well knowen in the Countrey nor acquainted with their orders & prices how he might ſel his Merchandize, nor yet what the buyer ſhuld giue, to inſtruct him therein. But he did not ſo, but rather cleane contrarye, foraſmuch as he was a friend to ỹ Moores of Mecca, which were great enimies vnto our men, not onelye for that they were Chriſtians, but for feare leaſt that for our cauſe they ſhuld loſe part of ther credit which they had in Calicut, by meanes wherof they toke their Merchandize for what price ſoeuer they would themſelues. And alſo for the feare they conceiued of them many times, the Gentiles durſt not come out of their doores.

The pledges ſent aboord.

They

They knew also that hauing our Factory setteled there, they should be great loosers, not onely in their Merchandize, which would be in valew lesse worth, as also in their Spices, Drugs & precious stones, which would be more worth & better esteemed. And that was the cause that alwaies Aries Correa was ouerthwarted in all things ẏ he went about to buy, with offring more then he did for the same, after ẏ the price was by any of ours made, then euer they did before, so ẏ by this meanes alwayes he was forced to pay the deerer for his drugs & spices. And if so be that at any time he would speake with ẏ King, they did trauell all ẏ they could, that some of them might be alwayes present to withstand & speak against him in all things. They did not this onely thēselues, but found meanes also by Samicide, which was Admirall of the Sea of Calicut, & a naturall Moore, ẏ he should not consent ẏ those ẏ remained in ẏ Factory wͭ Aries Correa shuld go aboord ẏ Fleete, & moreouer if any ship would presume to come neere to ẏ shore, not to cōsent ẏ it shuld return, saieng, ẏ the King had giuen such cōmandement. The Captaine generall being aduertised of all this, & supposing the same to be of a suspition of treason, commanded to wey and bring himselfe vnder saile to goe out of that harbour, and there to enter into councell with his Captaines what were best for him to do, for that he was afeard lest whilest ẏ hee remained in that harbour he might be set vpon by ẏ king of Calicuts Fleete, & so be troubled. The King after ẏ he knew what the Captaine generall had done, & that he minded to go his way, demaunded of Aries Correa the cause why he went out of his harbour, who aunswered him that he did not know certainely, wherfore without it were for the iniuries which the Moores had done vnto him, & so told him ẏ whole order, for that he knew the same. The King vpon this willed him to send againe for the Captaine generall, who immediately after that he knew, what the king had said, returned, & the King forthwith commanded that the Moores shuld not from thenceforth vse anye such villany. He also tooke awaye the Gosarate from the companye of Aries Correa,

The Captaine generall had good cause to feare and hate the Moores

vnto whom he gaue charge to inſtruct him in the order of the Countrey, and did put in his place another which was a very honeſt man, and a friend of ours, (although he were a Moze) whoſe name was Coſebequin. This man was alſo in Calicut of good credite, and the head of all the Mozes of the Countrey, that were naturally borne there, which were alwayes in controuerſie with the Mozes of the Cayro, and of the Straights of Meca, of the which the Admirall was head. Alſo the King gaue commaundement, that to the end our Merchaunts which were in the Factozie might ſell the better, and alſo buye theyr Spices at the better hande, and with quietneſſe, they ſhoulde remoue theyr Factozie to a houſe of Coſebequin, the which ſtode harde by the water ſide. And of this houſe, a gifte was giuen to the King of Protingale for euer by writing, the Copie whereof, forſomuch as the Captaine generall ſhould carry it with him, was incloſed in a Tablet of golde, to the which the King did ſet to his ſigne and ſeale, alſo the Kings pleaſure was, that vpon the top of the houſe there ſhould be ſet a flagge, with the royall armes of Portingale, that all men might knowe, that the ſame was his. Which after that the Captaine general had knowledge of, he ſent vnto the King great thanks for the ſame, and from that time forwarde they had indifferent good ſales by the helpe of Coſebequin, who did aide them therein. As ſoone as thoſe of the Countrey had vnderſtanding that our Factorye was by the King ſo fauoured, they lykewiſe did the lyke. Afterward our men might goe whereſoeuer they would without any moleſtation, and as ſure as they might in Liſhborne. So the friendſhippe betweene them and our men, was afterward very good.

A free houſe for the factory giuē to the king of Portingale by deede

¶ How at the requeſt of the King of Calycut, the Captaine Generall ſent to take a ſhippe of the Moores, and alſo after what ſort the ſame was taken. Cap. 24.

Whileſt

WHilest this friendship continued betweene our men and the Citie, and they being in so great a friendship and concord one with another, on the next Saterday following there did appeare to those of Calycut, a greate ship of the Moores, which was far off, going from Coching toward Cambaya. And as sone as ỹ same was discryed, the king sent worde to the Captaine Generall, requesting him that for his sake he would send to take the same ship, for ouer and besides that, there were in the same certeine Elephantes, yet was there one which exceeded them all, the which he woulde haue bought. And although he had offred for him more then he was worth, yet he would not sell him. Albeit the owner was a dweller in Coching, and therefore he most earnestly requested him to send to take the sayd shippe, forsomuch as it did so highlye touch his honour and credit: vnto his request, the Captaine Generall made answere that he would doe it with a good will, although that he was informed that the sayd shippe was great, and that there were within it very many men both Marriners and souldiers, and that the same could not bee taken without some losse of men, and therefore it was requisite that he consented that his men might kill those ỹ were in the ship, whereunto the king agreed. This being concluded, the Captaine Generall commaunded that Pedro de Tayde with his Caruell, shoulde goe take the foresayd ship, and that there should goe with him a young Gentleman called Edwarte Pacheco, which was thought to bee a valiant souldier, and with these there was a 60. men. The king also sent certeine Moores in the Caruel, that they also might viewe the order of their fighting. The Caruell being vnder saile gaue chace vnto the shippe till it was night, which being come, they lost sight of the same, and going along the coast all the quarter of the Mone, they sawe where he was riding at Ankor, and then Edwarte Pacheco commaunded to beare with him, and found those Moores

with their weapons in a readineſſe to defend themſelues withall, howbeit as they were hoiſing vp their Sayles, they eaſily iudged the ſame to be of 600. tun, and that within it there were 300. fighting men, the moſt parte whereof were bowe men, Edwarto Pacheco woulde not laye the ſame a boorde, for that he was commaunded to the contrarie, but to ſinke him if it were poſſible. And hauing brought him vnder his lye, he commaunded to amaine. The Moores making as it were a mocke of the ſame, gaue a lowd crye and plaide vppon their Inſtruments, and after this they ſhotte off certeine Ordinaunce which they had, and manye arrowes, making therewith a ſhew of readineſſe that they were in. They were anſwered by our men with ſhot, of the which there chaunced a Pellette to ſtrike harde vnder the boſſome of the ſhippe betweene winde and water, where there was made a hole by the which there entered a great quantitye of water. After this they ſhotte againe, with the which were there many of them ſlaine & hurt, & the other trembled with the feare they had of our Ordinaunce, with this they bare toward the baye of Cananor, the which was harde by, where there were riding at an Anker foure ſhips of the Moores, amongeſt them hee came to an Anker. Now beeing within the ſayd Baye, arriued alſo with the Caruell Edwarto Pacheco, who commaunded his Ordinaunce to be ſhotte at them, and with the ſame had taken them all, if ſo be that there had not come certeine Paroas of the Moores to ſuccour them, the which were in the porte, and as they were fighting the night came on, which was the cauſe that al thoſe Paroas were not by him deſtroied. In al theſe encounters there was no more then nine hurt of our men, which was done by their arrowes.

This ſhip for one in thoſe coaſts very vvel appointed.

Night beeing come, Edwarto Pacheco brought himſelfe forth of the Baye and came to Anker harde by an Iſlande, for that hee was there more ſurer then in the Bay, whereas they might haue ſette his ſhippe on fire. And although that it were contrarye to his commiſſion, yet for all that hee returned in the morning, and ioyned himſelfe

with

with his enimyes, who as sone as it was daye, woulde haue ranne theyr waye, and as they beganne to make sayle, hée entered vppon them in the Baye, shoting of his Ordinaunce, with the which hée strake the saide Shippe, and by this meanes they yéelded, with this those of Cananor that were standing at the water side, were verye sore agréeued and woulde haue come to succour the rest, who after that Edwarto Pacheco beganne to dispend his Ordinaunce amongest them, ranne lykewise theyr wayes. The Moores yeelded vnto our men.

This béeing done, hée went towarde Calycut, to the which harbour hée arriued the next daye, where the King came to the water side to sée the shippe, for that they toke the same for a miracle, and gaue our men great praises. The Captaine Generall commaunded the shippe to bée deliuered vnto the king with seauen Elephaunts that were within the same, which were worth in Calycut thirtye thousand crownes, ouer and besides this, there was found in it great store of merchaundise, besides those men whom hée toke captiues. Also hée sent the king word that hée néeded not to meruaile that so small a Caruell as that was could take such a great shippe, for that in matters of greater waight he woulde be at his commaundement, for the which hée sent him great thanks, and praied him to sende vnto him those men that had done so notable an act, whom he did receiue very well, and with great honour, and gaue them great gifts, in especiall to Edwarto Pacheco. Some affirme that after that the king had séene this famous act that our men had done being so few, he had them from thence forth in some feare, & was desirous to sée them dispatched out of his countrie, & therefore did consent vnto that treason, of the which I will speake of hereafter.

Of the Oration which the Moores made to the king, concerning the entertaining of our men, and what aunswere there was made, & also pollicie vsed against them. Chap. 25.

With

WIth the taking of this ſhip the Moores of Calicut were greatly afrighted in minde, and ſore offended with ỹ king for that he made ſo great account of our men, which as they thought was done to reuenge their iniuryes, and for the hatred or enuye they had conceiued againſt vs, though indede the king made more account of our men then he did of them. By this meanes as they thought, it was no other but to prouoke them to leaue his Countrie, in eſpeciall for as much as our men brought them ſuch great ſtore of Merchandiſe, and as much as they did, and brought as great ſtore of ſpices as they did: Therefore they determined to make vnto the king an Oration concerning the ſame matter. And being ioyned together ſpake in the name of them all, one on this ſort.

The Moores Oration againſt our men.

EMparather of all the Malabars, nothing leſſe mightie then the mightieſt king of the Indias, & moſt fearefull amongeſt thoſe that are feared of all the Princes of the ſame: We cannot but meruaile much that thou hauing theſe two qualyties, wouldeſt imbaſe thy ſelfe to receiue into thy Countrie theſe ỹ are enimyes to thy law, & ſtraungers to the cuſtomes of thy kingdome, & laſt of al, doe rather appeare to be rouers then merchants. If thou doeſt receiue them for want of ſuch as ſhoulde bring vnto the Citie thoſe kindes of merchaundiſe that they do bring, or elſe carrie away thoſe kinde of Spices that they are deſirous of, we would then allowe thereof. But there are to many that doth the ſame, and men that thou haſt knowne of a long time, and by the long continuance of them art acquainted with their fidelitie, which haue encreaſed ſo much thy rents, that therof we are a good witneſſe. But thou hauing forgotten all this, wouldeſt receiue thoſe whom thou diddeſt not knowe, and doeſt fauour them ſo much, that amongeſt ſo many, and ſuch a multitude of good ſubiectes as thou haſt, wouldeſt make choice of them, that they ſhoulde reuenge thy iniuries, as though thine owne ſubiects were not ſufficient men to doe the ſame. By which deede thou

doeſt

doeſt abaſe thy power ſo much, that we for very ſhame, & for that we are bound of duetie to bring it into thy memorie. For if ſo be ỹ thou well conſider what it is to make thẽ reuengers of thy iniuries, & giue them in reſpect thereof ſo great honour, it is as it were to ſhewe them plainly a certeine kinde of weakneſſe which indeed is not in thy ſubiects, but rather doeſt holden them to make ſmall account of ti,&, & ſo afterward to do that which we doe well know they will do, which is to rob from all merchants that commeth towards thy ports, to deſtroy thy country, & at length to take the Citie, which is the end of their comming into theſe parts, & not to looke for ſpices, and this is moſt true, that from their countrie vnto this is almoſt fiue thouſand leagues by ſea, with returnes and ſtormes that the ſame voyage hath, ouer and beſides the great daunger of the voiage, & the charges of the making of their great ſhippes, and furniſhing the ſame with ordinance, beſides the ſtrengthening of them with men, much more all this being wel noted, it is plaine that for all their greate gaines which they might haue by their ſpices in Portingale, their loſſes would be greater, in comming ſo far for them, which is a manifeſt proofe that they are rather pirats then merchants, which come into the country to rob and take thy citie, as they will do, if ſo be they do place themſelues once within the ſame. And when they ſhal poſſeſſe the ſame houſe which thou diddeſt giue them for a factorie, they will make there a fort, from whence they will make thẽ wars, when thou ſhalt thinke leaſt of it, which thing will come to paſſe, and now the rather, ſince that thou doeſt commaunde the ſame to be made by thy ſubiectes. But this as we ſaie wee doe bring to thy memorie more for the good will which we doe owe to thee, then for any profit we doe looke for. And if it fortune that thou wilt not remember vs, there are other cities in Malabar where we maye make our habitation, whether for our ſakes will be brought all ſtore of ſpices. Ouer and beſides all this, the loyaltie which we doe owe vnto thee doth make vs to feare more the loſſe of thy eſtate,

Proues that vvee vvere rather pirats then merchants.

then to care for our owne profit.

As ſoone as the Moore had made an end of his Oration, the king did gratifie them all very much, and tolde them that he woulde haue a ſpeciall care of all that which they had remembred him of, and how in the ſelfe ſame ſorte hée ſuppoſed ẏ matter indéed wold come to paſſe. The occaſion that the king toke to requeſt the Generall to ſend to take that ſhip, was to ſée the experience of their valiant mindes, & alſo why he did conſent to ẏ lading of their ſhips, was to the end there might remaine in the countrie their monye which they brought to buie merchaundiſe withall, according as he did to ſuch merchants as come into his port. Alſo at the laſt he did promiſe that he woulde not forſake them for any ſtraunger. Yet for all this, the Moores did not remaine fully ſatiſfied, becauſe the king did not command vs to depart out of the citie of Calycut, and not ſuffer our men to trade ther any longer, for that was the principalleſt thing that they did pretende. Howbeit they woulde not let but entermeddle in all our matters, eſpeciall in the buieng of our Spices, which they did openly buye, and ſent them ſecretly vnto other places. This was done with a determinatiõ, for ẏ they could not away with our men, but wold reſiſt them, our men béeing thus reſiſted might then haue occaſion the better to defend themſelues, & ſo by this meanes they would reuenge their quarrels openly by fighting with our men. This they had great deſire to do, thinking to deſtroy our men openly, for that they were manye more in number then ours were, they hoped that when this matter was once begun, that then the king wold take their parts. Alſo they wrought by all meanes poſſible to haue the common ſorte of people on their ſide, inciting them againſt our men, with matters which they made them beléeue that our men had done againſt them.

why he requeſted our men to take the ſhip of Meca.

How

How the Moores that dwelled in Calycut by meanes of the Factor & countenance they had at the kings hand, did set vpon the Factorye, where was slaine in defence there of the Factor with other of his company. Cap. 36.

BY meanes of this subtile dealing of the Moores, there past three moneths before the Factor could get any spices more then hee had, to lade two ships withall: which was a great griefe to the Captaine Generall, forsomuch as thereby he perceiued verye well that the friendship of the king was not steadfast, but that he was a lyar, and a man that vsed no truth at all. And if so be that he had not tarried there so long time as he did, fearing that in no other porte hee should finde sufficient lading for his shippes, he would haue fallen out with him, and so haue gone to some other place. But forasmuch as he hadde bene there at so greate charges, he dissimuled therewith onely to see whether with his good will he might lade there or no. The Captaine Generall seeing that all thinges were but delayes, sent vnto the king, requesting him to remember those promises he hadde made vnto the Factour, that within twentye dayes he woulde deliuer sufficient lading for the whole Fléte, and that nowe there were three moneths past, and yet there was no more laden then two shippes. The occasion whereof he did not knowe, and therefore he was the willinger to suffer the same, and that with great patience, hoping alwayes that he wold giue order for the lading of the rest of the Fléet. But now he sawe howe all things went, and knew that it was impossible to make an ende thereof.

The king accused plainly of doblenes.

For although he had promised that his Fléte should be the first that should be laden before any other straungers,

and that he was enformed for moſt certeine, ỳ the Mores had bought for a leſſe price great ſtore of Spices, and ſent the ſame to other places, whether they would, he therefore requeſted him yet to haue him in his remembrance, ỳ now it was time for him to depart towards Portingale, deſiring him to diſpatch him as he hadde promiſed. The King as ſone as he had heard what the meſſenger ſayd, did ſhewe as in an outward appearance greatly mervailing that our ſhips remained yet vnladen, and aunſwered that hée was very ſorie therefore, and that he could not beléeue that the Mores contrarie to his commaundement had bought ſpices vnder a couloure, and ſent the ſame a borde ſome other ſhip whether it pleaſed them, he hauing giuen commaundement to the contrarie, namely, that the Mores ſhould not buie any ſpices in hugger mugger. Affirming that if it bée ſo they had ſo deceiued him, he woulde puniſh them therefore. Upon this immediatly he gaue commaundement to take thoſe ſhippes that were laden with Spices, with condition that they ſhoulde pay for the ſame the price that the Mores had bought at. The newes was brought forthwith vnto the Mores, and as there was nothing more acceptable vnto them, then to haue occaſion to fall out with our men, ſo therefore did one of the principall Mores beginne to lade his ſhippe firſt, and that openlye with all ſortes of Spices and Drugges. And for that cholar might the more increaſe in our men, to take thoſe ſpices, hée found meanes that certeine Mores which the Factor toke to bée his verye friends, and alſo certeine Gentiles, ſhoulde make him beléeue that if ſo be that hée did not ſend to take that ſhip, that was a lading, that then he could not haue lading ſufficient for the Fléete.

Nothing more acceptable to the Mores the to quarell & fall out vvith our men,

The Factor gaue credit vnto this report, and therevpon ſent worde to the Captaine Generall, what the Mores and Gentiles had tolde him, and that he thought their ſayeng to be true. And therefore ſince the king of Calicut had giuen him licenſe to take all ſuch Spices as the Mores had laden, hée might the better nowe take that Shippe.

Now-

Yowbeit the Captaine generall was loath to deale therwith for all the Kings license, for he knew him to be an inconstant man, and waying also the great credit, that the Moores were in with him, he was afeard least that after they had taken the said shippe, the Moores through the Kings fauour would rise against them. And this was the aunswere that was sent to the Factor: yet for all that he did require him once more to take that ship, saieng, that if he did not, that then the King should be in hazarde to lose such Merchandize as he had ther: neuertheless the Captaine generall wold not meddle therwith, and yelding for that his determination sufficient reason to the contrary. But the Factor on ỹ other part ceased not to make vnto him sundry requests, and protestations, that he should paye all such losses and damages, as should hap vpon the King of Portingales Merchaundize, by his defaults, for that he woulde not deale with the sayde ship. Thus since he saw there was no other remedie, he cõsented therevnto, although it were against his will: & therfore the xvi. day of December, the Captaine generall sent word to those that were aboord ỹ ship, that was thus laden by the Moores, by the order which was sent him from the King of Calicut, to commaund them to depart, and for asmuch as they made but little reckoning thereof he sent the next daye all his boates to bring him within the harbour. After that this report came to the owner of the ships knowledge, they made the Moores priuie hereof, whereof they were very glad, for that by this meanes there was offered vnto them occasion to fall out with our men. Herevppon, they began in a furious outrage, running out of their doores like madde men, complaining vpon vs and our people, by meanes whereof, they were tumultuously moued, and framed great outcryes and larums, and alwayes against our men. And after that they had thus done, they ranne to the King, with whom went the owner of the ship, complaining also vpon our men for the detaining of his ship, saieng that our men had bought and laden much more spices & drugs, then that the Merchaundize came vnto which they hadde

The Moores moued a tumult against our men.

brought with them, howbeit their pride was ſuch, that they were content with nothing, but as Théeues and Pirates would haue all. At this inſtant came the Moores, which did before helpe him very much, declaring many things againſt our men, & how much the King was in fault, for ſuffering them within this Citie, requeſting him moſt earneſtlye to giue them licenſe to reuenge their loſſe, which they had receiued. The King as he was inconſtant and without knye fidelitie, did graunt them the ſame. As ſoone as the Moores had obtained their requeſt, they came their waye from the King, and toke their weapons, and with a ſauage fiercenes, lyke wilde beaſts, ranne into the Citie in flockes towarde the Factorie, which was compaſſed about like a Caſtle, with the wall of the height of a man on horſebacke, in the which were lxx. Portingales amongſt whom was Fryer Henrick with his cõpany of Friers. Ther wer amongſt our men no more weapons then 8. Croſſebowes, all ẏ reſt had nothing but ſwords & cloakes, as ſoone as they knew of ẏ enimies cõming, they ran to the gates of the Factory, & when ẏ they ſaw they were ſo few, they iudged them to be ſome quarellers that came thether for the ſame purpoſe, & therefore wer minded to defend their gates, with their cloakes & rapiers only: but afterward their power increaſed ſo much vpõ our men, that by reaſon of their arrowes and ſpeares, they could not indure ther any longer: then ẏ Factor commanded their gates to be ſhut vp, ſuppoſing that from the wal they wold driue their enimies from thence, & at the very ſhutting vp of the gates, there were ſeuen of the enimies ſlaine, ẏ which gates could not be ſhut without great daunger, allwayes fighting valiantly. In this conflict, ther wer of our men many hurt, & foure ſlaine: howbeit as well thoſe ẏ wer hurt as thoſe ẏ wer in health, went vp vpon ẏ wal of ẏ Factory, for to defend their enimies from thence with their croſſebowes. Howbeit the multitude of them at that preſent was ſo great that they made ſhewe as if they had bene in number foure thouſande. There came alſo to aide them ſundrye Nayres, which all of them together, began to ſet vpon thoſe that wer

The ſauage fiercenes of the Moores againſt our men.

in

in the Factorie, hoping thereby to enter. Aries Correa seeing ỳ it was impossible for him to defend it any lõger without some aide from the ships, and for to giue them to vnderstand of their troubles, there was displaide a flagge in the top of the Factorie: and as sone as the same was discryed by the Captaine generall, he suspected it in himselfe to be that which indeede it was, for the which sodaine chance he was very sorrowfull, for that as then he was but newly let bloud, and sicke in his bed, and therefore he could not go himselfe to succour them: howbeit he sent sancho de Toar, to supply his rome, with all the Flëtes boats, which went with such men as they had, but to resist such a number as there was of their enimies, they were very few, which Sancho de Toar perceiuing, durst not disimbarke himselfe, neither yet come too nëere the shore least that the enimies should come in their Almadias and Tonys, and so take them, also that they could not hurt them, they laye so farre off from the shore: but they from thence could discerne how valyantly our men did defende themselues and there entring, although the number of their enimies did alwayes increase, for so it was nëedful for ỳ great slaughter, ỳ our men made of thẽ, from ouer ỳ wall. Notwithstanding by meanes therof their fury did so increase, ỳ they caused to be brought certain engins to ouerthrow part of ỳ wall wall, which were so great, that our men could not by any meanes defend the same, being so few and so many hurt, with the enimies arrowes and speares, which came from them as thicke, as though it had rained arrowes. But perceiuing once the enimie began to enter, they would not tarrie there any longer, but went forth of the Factorye, by a dore that opened toward the water side, where they made reckoning to saue themselues with their boats. But ỳ enimies followed them alwaies so narrowly, hurting and killing them, that in this conflict Aries Correa was slaine, so that there were lacking fiftie of our men, betwëne those that were dead and taken captiues, twentie onely escaped, which toke the water, but those were sore hurt, amongst whome was a Fryer called

Succour sent by ỳ Generall Captaine to the Factorie.

Fryer

Fryer Henricke, and a ſon of the ſaid Aries Correa, which was but eleuen yeares of age, who is yet aliue and is called Antonio Correa, and ſince that time hath done in the Indias, and in other places notable acts of Armes, as in the fourth booke I ſhall declare. Thoſe that did eſcape, wer taken into our boates, and carried to the Fléete.

¶ How the Captaine generall ſlewe the moſt parte of thoſe Moores that were aboorde the ten great ſhips, and then commanded them to be ſet a fire, & alſo of the great deſtruction which he brought vpon the citie in reuenge of the death of thoſe that were ſlaine therein. Cap. 37.

After that theſe newes were brought to the Captaine generall, he was not onely very ſorowfull for the death of thoſe that were ſlaine, but alſo to ſée how little preuailed the preſent which he gaue vnto the King of Calicut, as alſo the taking of the ſhip, in the which was the Elephant, & now three moneths were paſt that he had bene there, and yet had laden no more then two ſhips, nor yet could tell when to lade the reſt, fearing alſo leaſt in Coching he ſhoulde not be well accepted, for taking of the ſhip in the which was the Elephant. And further waying with himſelfe, how little or none occaſion at all there was giuen to vſe ſuch treaſon againſt our men, he did therefore determine to reuenge himſelfe vpon ỹ King of Calycut, if ſo be that he did not vſe ſome excuſe for that which was paſt, whereunto if he woulde willingly yelde, then would he be content, ſo that he might ther haue his lading. But the King of Calycut was farre off from the matter, for he was very glad of that which ỹ Moores had done, and commaunded all ſuch Merchaundize to be taken, as were within the Factorie, the which wer well worth foure thou-

The king of Calicut vvas farre off from making a mendes.

thouland duckets, & also take all such of ours as they found aliue for captiues, although they were hurt, of the which there were foure that died. After all this, the Captaine generall seeing that in all that daye the King of Calicut sent no messenger to excuse himselfe of the fact, he put the matter in question, whereas it was determined that he forthwith should reuenge those iniuries that were past, for feare least if he should delay so to doe, that then the King might haue time to arme his Fleete, which would not then be so easelye done. This being determined, our men put themselues in a readinesse, to lay aboord y. great ships, which lay in ỹ harbor full of Moores: these at the first would haue defended themselues, yet for all ỹ our men did ioyne with them, & fought with them so valyantly, that they brake their order, killing many of them, and of those that remained some leaped into the water and were drowned, others hid themselues in their ships, and other were taken aliue, whom the Captaine generall commaunded to prison, that they might afterwarde serue for Mariners in the Fleet. The ships being thus come into our mens possession, they found within the same some Spices and other Merchaundize which were hidden within them: also they found three Elephants, which the Captaine generall commaunded to be killed and salted for their victualls, he commaunded also those Moores that were slaine to be told, and there was found of them 600. The ships being discharged of all that they had, they wer set a fire before all the Citie, in the sight of many that came to the water side to succor them, whom being Moores, as they were comming in their Almadias, our men encountered and fought with them, but they durst not goe forward for feare of the ordinaunce. This was a wonder to those of the Citie, to see ten ships burnt together. The King also was sory therefore for that he could not send to succour them. But if that which was done this day was a wonder to the enimies to behold, then ỹ next day was much more to be merualled at, for the Captaine generall not being contented with the burning of these ships commaunded his ships in the night to be brought

Iust reuenge vvrought vpon the iniurious Calicutās

as nére the ſhore as he could, the one ſomewhat ſeparated from the other. They had alſo their boats before them, that they might reach the moſt part of the Citie. As ſone as the morning began to appeare, immediately all the great Ordinaunce went off amongſt their houſes, which after that the enimies had ſéene, and how nére our ſhips lay to the ſhore, they began to ſhote at thē with ſmal péeces which they had without hurting any of our men, howbeit of our ordinance, for that the enimies came running in flockes, there was no péece that miſſ, and by that meanes there were manye that fell, and the others that drew towards the Citie, where our ordinaunce alſo had made a great deſtruction, as well in the Temples of their Gods, as in their dwelling houſes. The feare was ſo great amongſt the Citizens, that the King of Calycut himſelfe was driuen to leaue his Pallaice, and to goe out of the Citie, for that our men went thether to ſéeke him out with their pellets, ſo that hard at his héeles they killed a Nayre, which was a noble man, and ouerthrewe part of the Kings Pallaice. This deſtruction dured no more but this daye: and whileſt it was a doing, there appeared two ſhips ẏ wer comming to the harbor, which as ſone as they had diſcried vs, went their way, & therefore this fight ceaſed. The Captain generall made after thē wᵭ al his fléet to Panderane, which is a Port not far off, where there was other ſeuen nére to the land ready to ſuccour them, in which there came a multitude of Moores to defend them, and for that our ſhips could not come nére vnto the ſhore, they lefte them. And the Captaine generall contenting himſelfe with that which he had done in Calycut, for that it was verye late to make his voyage toward Portingal, went toward Cochin, & ther concluded a peace, to ſée whether he might lade ther, for ẏ he well knew it, that ther was more Pepper then in Calicut.

The feare that the king of Calicut and the citizens were in.

¶ How the Captaine generall arriued at the harbour adioyning to the citie of Cochin, & ther he concluded a peace betweene him & the King, & afterward began to lade his ſhips. Cap. 37.

Going

Ding vnder saile along by this citie, ỹ Captaine generall toke two ships of ỹ Moꝛes, which after that they had discried our ships, bare as nére the shoꝛe as they coulde, foꝛ feare of our ships, but our men toke them and when they were discharged of certayne Rice which they carried, the Generall caused them to be set a fire, and so following his course he arriued at Coching the xx. of December, which standeth in the Pꝛouince of Malabar, xix. leagues from that parte of Calycut, going into the South, and being in ix. degrées toward the Noꝛth. The scituation therof is along the riuer, in the which the Sea doth enter; by meanes whereof the Citie standeth as it were in an Ilande and that verye strong; foꝛ that there is no comming to it, but by certaine wayes. It hath belonging vnto it, a goodly great and a sure Poꝛt, which lyeth befoꝛe the mouth of this riuer. The land round about is watry and low, and made into Ilands: they haue smal stoꝛe of victuals, but foꝛ all that those which they haue is very fresh. This Citie is buylded much after the manner of Calycut, and is inhabited by Gentiles and sundꝛy Moꝛes strangers, which are come thether from manye places, and are great Merchaunts, amongst whom there are two that haue fiftie shippes a péce.

Coching standeth in 9. degrees, and the scituatiō therof.

In this Countrey is great stoꝛe of Pepper, and the most parte that they haue in Calycut commeth from thence. But foꝛasmuch as in Calycut there are moꝛe stoꝛe of Merchaunts which come from other places, therefoꝛe the same is richer then Coching. The King is a Gentile, and is of the behauiour and pꝛopertie of the King of Calycut: howbeit he is verye poꝛe, by reason his Countrey is but small, neither can he commaund any money to be coined in his Citie.

The Kings of Coching are in great subiection to the Kings of Calicut, foꝛ as often as ther chanceth a new king to

ſucceede in Calycut, he immediately goeth to Cochíng, and diſpoſſeſſeth him that hath the ſame, of the whole kingdome and taketh poſſeſſion himſelfe therof, ſo that by this meanes it lyeth in his handes, whether he will reſtore that King to the crowne againe or not. Alſo the King of Cochíng is bound to aide and accompany the King of Calycut in battaile againſt any other King, alſo he is bounde to dye in the religion of the King of Calicut. The Captaine generall, being come to this harbour, did there let fall his Ankor, for that he was afearde to ſend Gaſpar with a meſſage to the King, leaſt he would runne awaye, he choſed rather to ſend one whoſe name was Michael Iogue, which although hée were a Gentile & a ſtraunger, yet he came vnto our Fléete, with intent to turne Chriſtian, ſaieng that he would goe for Portingale: whereupon the Captaine generall toke occaſion to baptize him, and gaue him the name of Michael, & for his ſurname as he was called before. By this man he ſent to ỹ King of Cochíng his meſſage, certifieng him of all that they had paſt in Calicut, & alſo ỹ the Captain generall had brought wᵗ him great ſtore of Merchandize to giue in trucke for ſuch commodities as there were in Cochíng, with the which if ſo be that the King wer not contented, that then he would buy the ſame for ready mony, wherof he had brought with him great ſtore, and therefore his requeſt was that in trucke of his merchandize, or for his ready money he would giue him lading for foure ſhips. The anſwere that the king made to this meſſenger, was, That he was very glad of his comming to this his Port, for that he was wel informed of his ſtrength and valiantneſſe, and therfore he eſtéemed them all the better, as hereafter he ſhould well perceiue. And as for ſuch Spices as he had there, he would giue him ỹ ſame in trucke of his Merchaundize ỹ he had brought with him from Portingale, or els for money as he ſhould thinke beſt. And alſo that without any feare he might ſend a land whom he ſhould thinke good to prouide the ſaid lading, & for the aſſurance of ſuch as ſhuld trauel about ỹ ſame he ſent him 2. of ỹ principal Naires in pledge, vpõ cõditiõ ỹ euery day he ſhuld

A Moore baptiſed & called Michael.

chaunge

chaunge them and take others, for that all such as did fade a sea boarde, could not come anye more in the kings presence. The Captaine Generall was well contented therewith, who had the sending of those pleadges so quietly a board, for a good beginning, and therfore he sent immediatly for Factor of this lading Gonsallo Gilbarbosa, which was sent before with Aries Correa, and for his Scriuenor he sent Larenco Moreno, and for Interpretour one called Maderade Alcusia. Also the Captaine Generall commaunded to be deliuered vnto them and to serue them in all kinde of affaires, foure banished men.

The king hauing notice of the comming of the Factor a land, sent to receiue him the Rogedor of the Citie, who went accompanyed with many noble men of the Courte, who brought them before the king. This king euen as his rents did farre differ in value from the king of Calycut, so he did also differ very much in his estate, not onely for ỹ furniture of his person, but also of the place in the which he was in. For there appeared nothing else but the verye bare walls. The king himselfe was sitting within certeine grates, made much lyke a Theatre, with the which the whole house was compassed aboute, and there was attending vppon him verie few men. The Factor being come before the king, did present vnto him a present which the Captaine Generall sent him, which was a Bason of siluer to wash his hands in, full of Safrone, and a greate Ewer of siluer full of rose water, besides certeine braunches of Corall, this present the king receiued very ioyfully, giuing vnto the Captaine Generall great thanks for the same, and after that he had talked a while with the factor, and with Larenco Moreno, he commaunded them to be lodged, and so there remained those three a land, besides the other foure banished men. But the Captaine Generall would not consent there should remaine a land anye more, for he iudged that the fewer ther remained a land, the fewer would be lost if so be that there should chaunce the lyke misfortune to that which did in Calycut. Howbeit that was

The king of Cochin much inferior in wealth & state to ỹ king of Calycut.

farre vnlike, for ỹ the king of Cochíng ſæmed to be a man inclined to vertue & all the loialtie in the world, which wel appeared in his fauour, & in the vſing of our men, & in the diſpatch he made for the lading of our ſhips with ſpices, & in the commanding of helpe to be giuen by thoſe of ỹ countrie, which they did ſo willingly and with ſo great a zeale, that the ſame ſæmed to be ordeined of God, that the trade might be brought from Calycut to Cochíng, & that his holy Catholike faith might increaſe in the Indias, as ỹ ſame did, beſides the eſtate of ỹ king of Portingale, which might increaſe alſo in riches as the ſame hath done.

How the Captaine Generall being at Cochíng, ther came vnto him a Prieſt which was an Indian and a chriſtian, from the citie of Grangalor, to go with him to Portingale, and alſo what els he tolde him of the chriſtians of this citie. Chap. 39

THe Captaine Generall béing in this citie & laden, there came vnto him two Indians which as they ſaid were chriſtians, & naturally borne in ỹ citie of Grangalor, which is hard by Cochíng, theſe were brothers, & were deſirous to go to Portingale, & frõ thence to Rome to ſée the Pope, & afterward to Ieruſalem to viſit ỹ holy ſepulchre. And being demanded by ỹ Captaine generall what city ỹ Grangalor was, & whether the ſame was only inhabited by chriſtians, & alſo whether they do eſtæme ỹ chriſtiã order of ỹ Græks, or of ỹ church of Rome: one of thẽ made anſwere, ỹ Grangalor was a gret city in ỹ prouince of Malabar, ſtãding vpõ ỹ coũtry at ỹ end of a riuer which cõpaſſeth ỹ ſame, by ſome parts ỹ inhabitãts therof, ſaith he, are both Gẽtiles & chriſtiãs, alſo ther dwel amõgſt thẽ many Iewes which are ſmally eſtæmed of, ther are alſo many ſtrangers amongſt thẽ, which are merchants of Surria, of Aegipt, of Perſia, & Arabia, by reaſon of ỹ great ſtore of pepper which is there gathered, this citie hath a king amongſt thẽſelues, vnto whõ al ſuch chriſtians as dwel vpõ this citie do pay certein tribute, & theſe dwel by thẽſelues, where they haue their church made after our order, ſauing they haue not in thẽ any Images of ſaints, but only certein croſſes: they do not vſe bels, but when ỹ prieſts would haue them

The diſcriptiõ & ſtate of Grãgalor.

thē come to diuine seruice, thē they do obserue ẏ order of ẏ Greeks. The christiās haue their Popes which haue 12. cardinals, & two patriarks, & many Bishops & Archbishops, all which do reside in Armenia, for ther go ẏ bishops of Grāgalor to receiue their dignity, he himself had ben ther w̄ a bishop which ẏ pope did consecrate, & he himself receiued at his hands, orders of priesthood, & euen so he is accustomed to do vnto al others ẏ are christians in ẏ Indias, & in Caitaio & also he is called catholike, & their Tonsura is made w̄ a crosse. Of those two patriarks which they haue, ẏ one remaineth in ẏ Indias, & ẏ other in Caitaio, & as for ẏ bishops they are reposed in cities, as is thought cōuenient. The cause why they haue a pope in those parts hath ben as is thought by thē, for ẏ in S. Peters time he being in Antioch, ther arose a great scisme of Simon Magus, which was ẏ occasiō ẏ he was called to Rome to ouerthrow ẏ same, & to help ẏ christians which wer in great trouble: and seing ẏ he must depart frō Antioch, & for ẏ the church of ẏ orient shuld not remaine w̄out a shepheard, he appointed a vicar to gouern, who, S. Peter being dead, shuld remaine for pope, & those ẏ succeded him shuld alwaies assist him in Armenia, but after ẏ Moores entred into Suria & Asia, & for ẏ Armenia remained alwaies in the christian faith: the Christians did therfore chuse to gouerne it by. 12. cardinals. Marco Paulo doth also make mentiō of this catholike pope, wher he writeth of this Armenia, in which he declareth there are two orders of Christians: the one of those are Nestorians, the other Iacobites, their pope is also named Iacobite, & is hē whō they cal ẏ catholike Ioseph. Moreouer he told ẏ Captaine general ẏ in Grangalor are priests whose crowns are not shauen as ours are, but onely in ẏ midst of their heads they leaue certein haires, al ẏ rest is shauen, & also they haue deacons & subdeacons. They consecrate w̄ leuened bread & with wine made of raisons, for they haue no other in ẏ coūtry. Their childrē are not baptised vntil xl. daies after their birth, without they be sickly. Those ẏ are christians do cōfesse thēselues as we do, they receiue ẏ sacrament & bury ẏ dead as we doe.

Why the christians of ẏ Indias hath a Pope.

The manner of shauing their priests differing frō ours.

They

They doe not vſe the holy Dyle, but in ſtæde of the ſame they doe bleſſe them, & when that any die, they gather many of themſelues together, and for the ſpace of viii. daies, they doe eate abundantly, and afterward they celebrate the obſequies of the dead. They make their teſtament before they dy, & thoſe ẏ do not ſo, the nert heire ſhal inherit their lands and goods, & if ſo be that the huſband die firſt, the wife ſhal haue her dowrie, on condition that ſhe ſhall not marrie in one whole yeare after, when that they enter in their churches, they take holy water. Their opinion is that there are fowre Euangeliſts, whoſe writings they haue in great veneration. They faſt the Lent and the Aduent with greate ſolempnitie, and take regard not to breake the ſame, during this time they doe exerciſe themſelues in praier, & on Eaſter euen they neither doe eate nor drinke any thing till the nert day. They doe vſe to heare Sermons on holy Friday at night, they obſerue the day of the reſurrection with great ſolempnitie, with the two other daies following, and alſo the ſunday nert following, for that Saint Thomas on that day did put his hands into Chriſts ſide, they do kæpe it with great ſolempnitie, acknowledging thereby that the ſame was no fantaſie or dreame. Alſo they kæpe holy with great deuotion the Aſcention day & Trinitie Sunday, & the Aſſũption of our lady, hir birth, & Candlemas day, & Chriſtmas day, & all the Apoſtles & Sundaies, as wel the Chriſtians as ẏ Gentiles. And they with great deuotion kæp ẏ firſt day of July in the honour of S. Thomas, they could yælde no reaſon or cauſe why they doe obſerue that daie. They haue Fryers of Negroes which doe liue very chaſtly. Alſo there are Nunnes of the ſame order. Their Prieſts doe liue verye chaſtly, for if ſo be that they doe not ſo, they are depriued from celebrating. There can be no ſeparating of the man and woman, but well or ill they muſt liue together till death doe ſeparate them. They receiue the Sacrament three times in the yeare, they haue amongſt them greate Doctours, and open ſchooles, in the which are read the Prophets: and alſo there were in times paſt olde auncient doc-

Negro friers profeſſing chaſtitie.

tors

doctors, which haue left the Scriptures of the olde & newe Testament well expounded or interpreted. Their apparell is after the order of ỹ Moores. They haue their day which they do call Intercalor, which is of 40. houres. They know how the day passeth away by the Sun, & the night by the starres, for they haue no clocks. The Captaine generall was very glad of the companye of this Ioseph & his brother to carry them to Portingale, for whom he commanded a good cabine should be giuen them in his ship.

Of the great Fleet of ships that was sent out of Calicut to fight with the Captaine Generall, and what was the cause that ours did not fight with them. And also of his departure from Coching toward Portingale, and how in his way he was driuen to Cananor.

Chap. 40.

THe Captaine Generall being in this harbour, ther came vnto him a messenger frō the king of Cananor, & also from the king of Coulan (they both being great princes) in ỹ kingdome of Malabar, requesting him to come to their ports or harbours, for ỹ they would giue him sufficient lading for his ships, better cheape then in Coching, with verye many other offers of friendship. To whom he made answere by a messenger that he sent, yelding vnto them most hearty thanks, certifieng them ỹ at this present he could not go to lade at their ports, for that he had begun to take in the same already at Coching, notwithstanding at his nert retourne he wold do so, immediatly after ỹ he had laden his ships, there was seene a sea bord a fleete of 25. great ships, besides other small vessels. And ỹ king of Coching hauing notice therof, sent word forthwith to the Captaine Generall, ỹ there was in that fleet xv. thousand fighting men which came onely to none other purpose, but to seeke him out, and therefore if so bee

A greate Fleete of enimies.

that he ſhould haue any nád of men, to ſend him word, & he would prouide him therof. The Captaine Generall anſwered, that as yet he had no ſuch néede, for that with thoſe few that hée had with him, he truſted in God, to giue them to vnderſtand, what ill councell they had taken, to come & ſéeke him out, for that hée had well experimented theyr ſtrength. Truth it was the Generall beléeued ſteadfaſtlye as hée hadde ſpoken, in reſpect of that which hée before had paſt in the harbour or porte of Calycut. Firſt with ten great ſhippes which hée founde there, as alſo with certeine that were there a grounde. And although the enymyes were ſcouring vp and downe in the Sea, yet therby it was apparaunt that they durſt not come to the place where hée was, by a league, for all that they ſhewed themſelues to be ſet in order to fight. The Captaine Generall perceiuing theyr intent, cauſed to wey Ankor, and hauing his Sailes ſpread abroade, departed with all his Fléete towarde his enimyes, in the which there went thoſe Pleadges Malabars, which the King of Cochin hadde giuen vnto him. Howbeit his determination was, to retourne againe to Cochin, and ſo to deliuer them.

And going after this ſorte, there fell vppon them on a ſodayne ſuch a greate ſtorme which came with a contrarye winde, that hée was faine to retourne and to come to an Ankor againe, ſo that hée coulde not beare with his enymies.

The next daye following which was the tenth daye of Januarye. 1501. the winde came about in ſuch ſorte and ſo large, that the one Fléete might laye the other aboorde. The Captaine Generall béeing deſirous thereof, founde vppon a ſodeine miſſing one of his greate Shippes, in the which went Sancho de Toar, vnto whome it did well appeare, by reaſon it was night, that he had forgotten himſelfe. And for becauſe that next vnto this ſhippe, this was the principalleſt of all the Fléete, in the which were placed the chiefeſt men, it was not thought good to fight without him, the rather for that in

the

the others he hadde but fewe men, and of them the most parte were sicke, and of the enymyes were so manye as the king of Coching had sent him worde.

And as the winde was prosperous to goe forwarde on his voyage towarde Portingale, and verye scant to retourne towarde Cochíng, hee departed, making his course into the Sea with his whole Fléete. After whome the whole Fléete of the enimies followed, all that daye till it was night, and then they lost theyr companye, and so retourned. Thus going in his course, he beganne to comfort those Nayres which were deliuered vnto him for Pleadges, with manye pleasaunt tales, the which was the cause that they fell to theyr meate, béeing three dayes there, & had eaten nothing of fiue daies of theyr sailing, and vpon the xb. of Januarie, he came within sight of Cananor, which lyeth flat north from Coching, and is in the coast of Malabar, xxi. leagues from Coching. He maketh toward Portingale.

Cananor is a greate citie, consisting of houses made of Earth, and couered ouer with broade stone or slate, there are in this Citie many Moores that are great merchants, which trade in all kinde of merchaundise. There is adioyning vnto this Citie a goodly Baie, but there is in this Coast no great store of Pepper, no more then doth serue their owne turnes. Howbeit they haue greate store of Ginger, Cardamomon, Tamarindos, Mirabolanos, Canyfistola, and such lyke. There belong vnto this Citie certeine poles of water, wherin there do bréed Lagartos, the which are lyke vnto the Crocodiles that are in the riuer of Nilo, which are so great that they doe eate men, if so be that they maye come by them. Their heads are great, and they haue two orders of téeth, their breath is as swéet as muske, and their bodies are couered ouer with shels. Also about this citie there are in bushes great adders, which are very full of poison, so that with their breath onely they do kill men: also there are Bats so great as kites, which in their heads doe séeme much like vnto a Fore, hauing such manner of téeth also. The discription of the towne of Cananor. Drugs for the Pothecaries.

Theſe the Gentiles doe feede vpon, for that they are pleaſant and ſweete. They haue moreouer in this Citie plentie both of fiſh, flesh, & fruits, & as for rice ỹ commeth vnto thẽ from other places. The king is a Gentile, and a Bramene, hée is counted to be one of the three of the prouince of Malabar, but he is not ſo rich nor of ſo great a power as is the king of Calycut, nor yet as the king of Coulan. Vnto this harbour arriued the Captaine General, and came to an ankor, (not onelye for that the king had requeſted him ſo to doe) but alſo for that he minded to take in there ſome Cinamon, whereof hée had none yet a borde, ſo that there hée toke in 400. Quintalls, and might haue had much more, but he would not take it, wherefore it was thought that he wanted money: wherevpon the king toke occaſion to ſend him word, that if ſo be the lacke of money were the cauſe that he toke no more thereof, or any other ſpices, hée was then much to blame, for that hée woulde truſt him with much more if néede ſo required, vntill hée returned backe againe, hée or any other. Hée was the willinger to ſend him this offer, for that he knewe the true dealing of the Portingales, and howe well they mainteined their promiſe: and for that hée did beare vs ſo greate good will, the Captaine Generall made him aunſwere, giuing him greate good thankes for the lyberall offers hée hadde made him: promiſing that if hée liued, hée woulde enforme the king his maiſter of the greate good will that hée doth beare him. And once this, hée maye bée aſſured to haue him alwayes for his friende. After this was deliuered vnto him an Embaſſadour, whome the king of Cananor ſent to the king of Portingale to increaſe a further friendſhip betweene them.

Euery quintall is 100. vveight.

¶ What had chaunced to the Captaine generall vntill such time that hee arriued at Monsanbique: and from thence to Lisshborne, and how Sancho de Toar, did discouer the Ilande of Sofala. Chap. 41.

IN the middes of that goulfe, and on the last day of January, he toke a great ship, richly laden with Merchandise, and perceiuing that it belonged to the King of Cambaya, he would not meddle therewith, but rather sent him word that his comming to the Indias was not to make warres with any, but if so be that he minded so to doe, it shall be with the King of Calycut, for that he had broken the peace he had made with him: onely out of that ship he toke a Pilot, for to safeconduct him, till he had past the gulfe. And he being in the same vnder saile, on a certaine night, which was the xii. of Februarie, they lost the ship of Sancho de Toar, which in a storme, that rose sodainly vpon them, being hard by the shore side, violentlye they ranne vpon it, by meanes whereof, there was kindled in the same a great fire, so that nothing was saued, but onely the men. Following their course in this tempest, they past by Mylynde, onely for that they could not take harbor there, nor on any other land but only Monsanbique, which he toke in his waye, as well for the want they had of water, as also to new rig their ships, for ỳ they went all open.

A ship of the fleete cast away

In the meane while he sent Sancho de Toar, to discouer Sofala, and from thence to retourne towarde Portingale, with relation thereof. The shippes beeing all in a readinesse, they returned toward the Cape Buena esperansa, and ther by reason of another great storme, that ouertoke them, there was shot out of a ship a great peece of Ordinaunce, which ship was neuer seene after in all that voyage. After so many great and cruell stormes, and other great daungers, which are innumerable to write of, he past the forsaid Cape, the xxii. of May, which fell on Whitsundaye,

and ſo following their courſe, came to an Anker at Cabo Verde, where he found Diego Dias (whoſe company he had loſt before, when as he went toward the Indias) who was driuen into the red Sea, where he did winter, and loſt his boate, and where alſo dyed the moſt part of his men, and for that his Pilot durſt not venture to carry them to the Indias, did return toward Portingale. And ſo after that he came out of the red Sea, what with hunger, thirſt, and other diſeaſes, all his men were conſumed ſauing ſeauen perſons: wherein God of his great goodneſſe ſhewed a miracle, for ſomuch as in many dayes before, they were not able to gouerne their ſailes, for that they were ſo feble and weake. The Captain generall ſeeing that ther came no more ſhips, departed towards Liſhborne, where vnto he came the laſt daye of July in the yeare of our Lord 1501. And after that he was arriued, in came the ſhip, which ſhot off the peece of Ordinaunce in the ſtorme, before that he doubled the Cape Buena eſperanſa, and after him came alſo Sancho de Toar, who went to diſcouer Sofala, and made relation thereof to be a ſmall Iland, ſtanding hard to the firme lande, and that it was inhabited by blacke men, which are called Cafres, and that out of the firme lande there commeth much golde, where, as they ſay, there are mynes thereof. And for that cauſe there goe out of the Indias thether many Moores, that receiue the ſame in trucke of Merchandize of ſmall valew. Moreouer he brought with him a Moore, which was giuen him in pawne of one of his men, which he ſent into ỹ firme land for to view the ſame. This Moore gaue large information thereof, as hereafter I ſhall declare. With this laſt ſhip there did returne vnto Portingale, of twelue that went for the Indias, onely fiue: the other ſixe were loſt.

Diego Dias found at Capo Verde, & his voyage.

The Iland of Sofala diſcouered.

¶ How Iohn de la Nueua, went for Captaine generall of the third Fleet that was ſent to the Indias, & what hee did after his arriuall there, & how from thence he returned toward Portingale. Chap. 42.

In

IN this yeare of our Lord 1501. the King of Portingale supposing that all contention and strife in Calycut was finished, & that ẏ trade was setled as well there as in Quiloa and Sofala, and for that he had sent the selfe same yeare for that purpose one Pedro Aluares: therefore he thought best not to send any more then 3. ships & a Caruell, of ẏ which two caried Merchandize to Sofala, & the other two to Calycut. Of this Fléete he made Generall one called Ioan de la Nueua, born in Galyzia, & this charge was giuen him, for ẏ he was accõpted to be a valyant Gentleman: moreouer, Francisco de Nauoys, Diego, Barboso, & Hernando de la pyna, wer appointed for his captains. Ther went in this Fléet no more then lxxx. men. That which the king had giuen him in commandement to do, was this, that in his way he should touch at the Ilande of S. Blaze. And being come thether, if it should so chaunce, that he shoulde finde missing any of his ships, that then he should there remaine ten dayes, and from thence he should depart toward Sofala, and being there, if so be that ther were setled a Factorie, to discharge the Merchandize the which were appointed for that place. From the which he might haue recourse vnto the Indias. And if so be that he found not all thing so, that then he should trauell with all diligence, and as much as in him lay, to settle the same before he should goe from thence: which being finished, that then he should leaue for Factor of that place Aluoro de Braga, with all such Merchandize as wer appointed, which went in the Caruell. Frõ thence he shuld go for Quiloa, & after ẏ he had bene ther, he shuld kéepe his right course toward Calicut. And if so bée that he shuld finde ther as yet Pedro Aluares, to know whether he stand in any néed of him, & that he shuld obey him as his general, & wil him to settle a factory in Sofala, if it were not done alredy. This general being departed frõ Lishborn, he came safely to ẏ Iland of S. Blaze, wher in a branch of a tréé was foũd a shoe, & in ẏ same was a letter which made mention, ẏ Pedro de Tayde captain of ẏ fléet of Pedro Aluares

The third Fleet that vvent frõ Portingal to the Indias

The order that the king gaue him concerning this voyage.

res Cabral, which was bound to Portingale was paſt by, and ſo mak ng further rela ion what had chanced vnto him in Calycut, and of the good entertainment they had in Cōching, where as then did remaine ſome of our men, and alſo how the King of Cananor ſhewed himſelfe very curteous. This as it appeared, was written by Pedro de Tayde, to aduertiſe all ſuch Captaines as ſhould paſſe by to Calycut. The Captaine generall with the other Captaines peruſing this letter, did then determine, ỹ it was not requiſit, to leaue the Caruell in Sofala, for that they had but few men, which was not aboue foure ſcore. And with this they thought it conuenient to go to Quiloa, where they founde a baniſhed man, whom Pedro Aluares had left there, who likewiſe informed the Generall, what Pedro Aluares had paſt in Calicut, the which he had learned of certaine Moores, and alſo of the ſhips that he had loſt. From thence he went to Mylinde, where he talked with the King, which tolde him as much more as the baniſhed man had done. And hauing the ſame for certaine, he went ouer to the Coaſt of the Indias, to the which he came in Nouember, and fell to an Ankor in Anſadina, where he thought conuenient to take in his water. And being there arriued, there came in vpon a ſodaine, ſeauen great ſhippes of Cambaya, which were bounde into the Straights. The Moores wold haue fought with our fleete, but our ordinaunce was the cauſe that they durſt not laye vs aboord, and ſo they went their way. After this, the Captaine generall departed to Cananor: where he talked with the King, which certified him of that which had likewiſe paſt in Calycut with Pedro Aluares, and what he had done, and how he offered him lading for thoſe ſhips which he had brought with him. Alſo he certified him, how deſirous he was to be at the King of Portingales commaundement: yet for all theſe faire words, the Captaine generall wouldе not take in there any lading, vntill ſuch time he had ben at Cōching with the Factor, toward which place he departed, and in his way he toke a ſhip which appertained vnto ỹ Moores of Calycut, the which defended hir ſelfe very valyauntlye, but

they take their voyage to the Indias.

but afterward he commaunded to set the same a fire. And being arrived at Coching, the Factor with the rest of his cõpany went to visite the Captaine generall aborde his ship, who told him that the King was greatly offended with Pedro Aluares, for ỳ he went his way without speking with him, & for carrieng away his pledges: yet this notwithstanding, both he & the rest of his company wer allwayes curteously entertained. In ỳ night they wer brought into his pallaice, ỳ there they might remaine: & if so be ỳ in ỳ day they wer any thing desirous to walk abroad, then they wer tended vpon by certain of his Nayres, which were commanded to attend vpon them, & kepe them company for feare of the Moores, for that they did not loue them, but rather were desirous to kill them, insomuch, that before they went to the Pallaice, they did one night set fire to the house, wherein they did lye: whereof the King hauing knowledge, from thence forth he had them to his Pallaice, and so commaunded from that time forwarde the Nayres to take a care of them. Moreouer, he was told what ill sales he shoulde finde there of such Merchaundize as he had brought, for that the Moores had perswaded the Merchaunts of the Countrey to giue lytle for the same: and also aduised those that sell the Pepper and other Spices, that they should not sell the same but for ready money, and not in trucke of Merchaundize: & therefore they tolde him that if so be he had brought no money to buye their Spices withall, that then he should make no reckoning of the same. And therefore for that the Generall had brought none, he would tarrie there no longer, but returned to Cananor, to take in there his lading, where the King was so great a friend to the King of Portingale, that when he vnderstood, that he had brought no money, he remained his suretie for a thousand Quintall of Pepper, & for fiftie of Ginger, & for foure hundred & fiftie Quintall of Cinamon: besides some linnen cloath, which is made of Algadon, vntill such time he had made sales of all such Merchandize as he had brought with him, which he had lefte in Cananor, in the hands of a Factor & two Scriuenors, and so

The malitiousnesse of the Moores.

Euerye Quintall is a 100. vvaight.

&c. from

from thence he should returne with the first winde, ỹ which as then did begin to blow, and therefore he would tarry no longer. To the intent therefore they shuld not depart without their lading, he shewed the Captaine generall this pleasure. The Captaine generall seing this his curteous dealing, did commend vnto his custodie certaine of his men, the which he left with him, for that he had sent with Pedro Aluares Cabral Embassadors to Portingale. This lading beeing taken in, then on the xb. of December, ther did appeare in the Sea lxxx. Paraos, which were past the Mount Dely. Whereof the King hauing knowledge, he sent word immediately to the Captaine generall, that those were the Fléte of Calycut, that came onely to set vpon him, and therefore it were good he shuld command his men to disimbark themselues & their ordinance: vnto which ỹ captain general made answere, that he would not so doe. For if so be that the enimies came with that intent, he had a hope in God ỹ he shuld be able to defend himselfe: and with that he put himselfe in a readinesse. The next day following, which was the xvi. day of December, before ỹ dawning of ỹ day, ther was come into the Bay to the number of 100. ships and Paraos, which wer all full of Mores, beeing sent of purpose, for that the King of Calicut was informed, that they were there taking in of their lading, so that he thought by that meanes that neither ship nor man should escape, and therefore they lay as they did about the Baye. As sone as the Captaine generall had viewed them, he remoued from the place wher he was at an Anker, and brought himselfe into the middes of the Baye, leauing order with his ships, that they should lay on load with their ordinaunce which they had, with the which he commaunded them forthwith to begin to shot off: which was done in such sort, that they did neuer cease. And if so be that he had not done so, doubtlesse the enimies wold haue laid their ships aboord, by reason there were so manye: so that it was impossible for him to escape, if God of his goodnesse had not fauoured him, and prouided by his mercie, that the enimies brought no Ordinaunce with them.

The king of Calicut sent lxxx. Paraos to fight with ỹ captain Generall

Where-

Wherefore they were the bolder to dispend amongst them their shot, with the which there were many very sore hurt, ouer and besides great numbers that were slaine, and their ships and Paraos sunke, for they durst not venter to lay our ships aboord, nor yet had killed or hurt any of our men. The fight dured vntill such time it was Sunne set, then the enimies helde vp a flagge. But, for that he feared they meant thereby some deceipt, he did not leaue off shooting: for otherwise they might haue thought he had so done, for ỹ he was wearied, or els for feare. But it was nothing so, for they did it for the desire they had of peace, in respect of the hurt and losse of their men, which they had receiued at our mens hands, whereby they were driuen to such necessitie, that if so be that the winde had serued, they had hoysed vp their sayles and gone their way, and therefore they kept vp their flagge. The Captaine generall perceiuing their meaning, (and for that the most part of his Ordinaunce was broken, with the continuall shooting thereof, did answere them with another flagge, which was done by the councell and consent of the other Captaines: and immediatelye vppon the same, they sent a Moze, which came in a small Boate vnto him, whose message was, to demand peace till the nert day, which was by him graunted, with this condition, that they should tarrie no longer in the Baye, but go into the open Sea, & so they did. The generall (although ỹ wind was partly against him) made likewise his course into the Sea, although it wer troublesome vnto him. The Moxes could not doe the lyke, for their shippes and Paraos can beare no sayle but with a forewinde. Yet for all the trouble that was past, the Generall came to an Ankor hard by them, and for all that he vsed in the night a great and vigilant watch, by the which they heard the enimies rowing in their boates towardes our Fleete, yet before that they were knowen, they wer almost vpon him: their intent as it was presupposed, was to set our Fleete a fire. The Captaine Generall fearing this, commaunded to vyere more of the Cabells, that he might bee the farther off from them.

This flag was a signe & request of peace.

And perceiuing that the enimies did yet followe them, he then commanded a peece to be ſhot of at them, with ẏ which they were afeard, & ſo went their way: & as ẏ wind came of the ſhoꝛe ſomwhat faire, they hoyſed vp their ſailes, and followed their courſe toward Calicut. The Captaine generall gaue God great thanks, ẏ he had ſo deliuered him from his enimies, & ſo taking his leaue of the king of Cananor, departed toward Portingale, where he arriued in ſafetie with all his ſhips. After that he was departed, there came to Cananor one of his men, called Gonſallo Pixoto, which was taken in Calicut foꝛ Captiue, whome the king ſent with a meſſenger to the Captaine generall. The effect thereof was, excuſing himſelfe of all that was done vnto Pedro Aluares, and further alſo what hurt he had done vnto his Flæte in Cananor. Moꝛeouer, he offered him, if ſo be that he would come to Calycut, to giue him his full lading of Spices, and ſufficient Pledges foꝛ the aſſuraunce of the ſame.

they ariue ſafelye at Portingal

¶How Vaſco de la Gama retourned for Captaine generall to the Indias with a Fleete of ſhips, and what hee did till he came to Quiloa. Chap. 43.

The iiii. voyage to the Indias 1502.

He King of Portingale hauing great deſire to reuenge, the iniuries & treaſon that the king of Calicut had done vnto his ſeruants, did therefoꝛe cauſe to be made in a readines a great Flæte of ſhips, with the which he did determine to make warres againſt him. And hauing giuen the charge thereof to Pedro Aluares Cabral, did vpon certaine iuſt conſiderations take the ſame from him againe, and in his ſtæd appointed foꝛ Generall, Don Vaſco de la Gama, who departed from Liſhborne, the third of March, in the yeare of our Loꝛd 1502. and had the charge of thirténe great Ships and two Caruells, of the which beſides himſelfe went foꝛ Captaines Pedro Alonſo de Aquilar, Philipe de caſtro, Don Luys Cotinuo, Franco de Conya, Pedro de Tayde, Vaſco caruallo, Vincẽte Sodre,

and

and Blas Sodre, cousin germaines to the Captaine generall, Gil Hernand, cousin to Larenco de la Mina, Iuan Lopes Perestrelo, Rodrigo de Casteneda, Rodrigo de Abreo, and of the caruells, Pedro Raphael & Diego Peres. They carryed also a Caruell vnwrought, which they shoulde make an ende of in Monsanbique, of the which there shoulde goe for Captaine one called Hernand Rodrignes Badarsas: besides this prouision ther remained making in a readines other fiue ships, of the which there should go for Captaine generall, one Steuen de la Gama, who departed the fift day of May, next after following. After that the Captaine generall had doubled the Cape of Buena Esperansa with his whole fleete, being at the furthest end of the currents, hee sent the same to Monsanbique, to remaine there whilest hee went to Sofala, according as he was commaunded by the king. He carried in his companie foure of the smallest shippes of the whole Fleete. His going thether was not onely to see the scituation of the same, and to see whether there were any place conuenient there for to make a fort, but also for to regrate their gold, and this was done in xxv. dayes. The frindship betweene the king of Sofala and him, was agreed vpon, and that he might from thence forth settle the factorie there. After that this was ended, there passed betweene them sundrie presents from the one to the other. And hauing concluded, the Captaine generall departed from thence, and retourned to Monsanbique, and in going out of the riuer there was lost one of the ships, but the men were all saued. Being arriued at Monsanbique he immediatly renewed with the gouernour the olde friendship which in times past had bene betweene them, and by his condesent was left there a factor, which was deliuered vnto him with other more of our men, which remained in the Factorie for no other purpose but to prouide alwaies victualls for such Fleetes as should touch there, either going or comming from the Indias. This being finished, & hauing made an end of the Caruell with all his ordinance placed, he departed toward Quiloa, with intent to bring

He goeth first to Sofala to regrate their golde.

A house apointed for the Factory.

him to be tributarie to the king of Portingale, the order whereof he carryed with him in his Regiſter, which hée meant to put in execution, by reaſon of the euill intertein-ment he gaue to Pedro de Aluares Cabrall. And béing come to this harbour or port, the king went to viſit him, a ſeabord, which hée did onely for the feare that he was in, for the iniurie which he had done to Pedro Aluares. After that he was come thether, there arriued alſo Steuen de la Gama, that came with other fiue ſhips, which he departed withall out of Portingale. Now when the Captaine Ge-nerall eſtéemed the king but for a lyar, and had got him a ſeabord, he would not truſt him on his promiſe any fur-ther, but did immediatly threaten him, that if ſo be that hée would not pay tribute to the king of Portingale, he would commaund him to priſon, vnder the hatches of his ſhippe. With the feare hereof, he promiſed to giue him yerely two thouſand Miticaes of gold, and for the aſſurance of the pai-ment thereof, he gaue in pledge a principall More, whome they doe call Mafamede Aleones, one whome he hated, for that he was a feard leaſt he wold take the kingdome from him, for that he himſelfe hadde vſurped the ſame from the right king. After that he ſawe himſelfe at libertie, and in the citie, he woulde not according to his promiſe ſend his tribute, but rather hoped that the Captaine Generall wold haue cauſed the pleadge to be killed, by reaſon whereof he ſhould be ridde of an enimie. But the More, ſéeing that the tribute came not, was faine to pay the ſame himſelfe, and therevpon the Captaine Generall did deliuer him.

How the Captaine Generall did take a ſhip of the Moores of Meca, at the mount Dely, & what chaunced vnto him thereby. chap. 44.

THis being done, the Captaine Generall, went for-ward on his voyage, toward Mylynde, where hée ſtaide to take in his water, and to ſée the king: and from

from thence he kepte his course towarde the Indias, and at the mount Dely, he met with a ship of the Moores of Meca, that was bound to Calycut, which was taken by our men, for that they did defende themselues verie stoutlye. A ship of the Moores of Meca taken.

The shippe beeing rendered, the Captaine Generall went a boarde the same, where he commaunded to come before him the owners thereof, and all the principallest Moores that were more there. He willed them also to bring with them all such kinde of merchaundise as they had, threatening them that if they did it not, he woulde cause them to be throwen into the sea. They aunswered him that they had nothing, for that all their goods were in Calycut. The Captaine Generall shewed himselfe to bee offended with that aunswere, and did therefore commaunde one of them to be throwne into the sea, bound hand and foot. The others with the feare they had conceiued to see this punishment, did deliuer all that they had, which was much, and that very good merchaundise, which was immediatly commaunded to be deliuered vnto Diego Hernando Correa, that went for Factor to Coching, and so he gaue order that the same should be carryed a boarde another shippe.

All the children which were a boarde the sayde shippe, were carryed aboarde the Generall, for that he had made promise to make them all Friers, and to place them in our Ladyes Church of Belem, as afterwarde he did. The rest of the merchaundise which were of the meaner sorte, and of small value, he gaue the spoyle of them to his men. The shippe beeing vnladen of the goods, commaundement was giuen to Steuen de la Gama, to set the same a fire. This was done after that the Moores were driuen vnder the Hatches, to reuenge the death of those that were slaine in Calycut.

This shippe beeing sette a fire, by the foresayde Steuen de la Gama, and other two, they leaped then into their Boates, leauing the shippe burning. The Moores that were within the same, after that they perceyued

the

the Shippe to burne, did breake open the hatches: by meanes whereof they were set at libertie: and with the water the ship had within it did quench the fire. The Captain Generall seeing this, forthwith commaunded Steuen de la Gama to goe once more, and laye the same aboorde, to the which he went with sundry of his men, with their weapons. Howbeit the Moores did defende themselues as desperate men, not fearing death. Some there were of them that toke firebrands and threw the same into one of the ships, with determination to set the same a fire. Others ꝑ threw the like at their heads. And for that the night drew on, they left them there, because the Captaine Generall was not of that minde, they should remaine there in the darke, for feare least the Moores should kill some of our men. Howbeit he gaue commaundement, that the foresaid shippe shoulde be watched, that the Moores shoulde not runne to lande, which was hard by. The Moores all that night did nothing else but crie out to Mahoma to succour and deliuer them from vs. The dawning of the day being come, the Captaine Generall commaunded once more that Steuen de la Gama with some of the Marriners of his shippe should goe and lay the Moores ship a board, and set the same a fire againe, which was so done. Now after that he hadde made the Moores to flie and to ioyne themselues in the poope of their ship, fighting alwaies with them, notwithstanding the which, certeine of his Marriners and Gunners would not leaue them vntill such time the ship was halfe burnt. When the Moores sawe the fire, some there were that leaped into the sea with hatchets in their hands, which they carried swimming, with determination to kill all those that did pursue them with boats, whom lyke wild men desperately bent they did set vppon. Yet for all that there were many that were hurt, for that they came neere to our boates side. Howbeit the most parte of them was slaine, and those that remained in the Shippe were drowned, within the same, for that the ship did sinke. There were of them in all three hundred, whereof there was not

Desperate minds in time of extremitie.

one

one that did escape: and of our men there were some that were hurt.

How the Captaine Generall made peace and friendship with the king of Cananor, and afterwarde departed toward Calycut. Chap. 45.

FRom hence went the Captaine Generall to Cananor, and being come thether to an ankor, he sent ỹ Embassador which he brought with him for the king, who told him that he was come, and that his desire was to speake with him. The king hereupon commaunded to be made a bridge of timber, which entered into the water as farre as it was possible. The same was couered ouer with Carpets, and other rich clothes, and vpon it toward the lande side, was framed a house lykewise made of timber, couered ouer as the bridge afore sayd, which was made for the meeting of the king and the Captaine Generall. The king being the first that was come, came accompanyed with ten thousand Nayres, and with many Trumpets, and other instrumentes, which went sounding and playeng before him. After that the king was entered into this house, there were placed the Nayres on the Bridge, those that were appointed to receiue the Captaine Generall. Who standing there, anone came the Generall in his Boate accompanied with all the Boates of the fleete, being richly couered ouer and set out with theyr Flagges, besides that, they carryed certeine Ordinaunce in the prore of theyr Boates. Also there were many Drummes and Trumpets with them, and with shoting of the Ordinance the Captaine Generall disimbarked himselfe, being accompanied with all his Captaines, and with sundry of his men, which went all armed.

An embassadour sent to ỹ king of Cananor.

The meeting of ỹ king and the Captaine Generall at Cananor 1502.

There were carried before him two great Basons of siluer and gilt, which were to wash his hands in, couered ouer with fine peces of Coral, and other fine things which they doe greatly esteeme in the Indias. The Nayres viewing the same, did meruaile to see the delicatnesse of our men.

The preſent which the king of Portingale sent y king of Cananor.

With this the king came as farre forth to receiue the captaine generall as the gate of his place, where he imbraced him, and afterwarde they returned together to the place from whence the king came forth, where the Captaine generall had commaunded to be set a couple of chaires, vpon the which, although it was not the kings custome to sit, yet he did at that time for the Captaine Generalls sake. At this present was concluded the friendship betweene the king of Portingale and him, so that immediatly after that the Factorie was setled in Cochin, minding to doe the lyke in Cananor, where as sone as the same was done, he wold lade certeine of his shippes, and after all this the Captaine Generall departed toward Calycut.

How the Captaine Generall came to the port of Calycut, and what hee did there. Chap. 46.

From hence the Captaine Generall being come to the harbour of Calycut, afore they were knowne, did take certaine Paraos in the which were to the number of fiftye Malabars, that could not escape. The Captaine Generall would not at the first comming doe the citie any hurt with his ordinaunce, vntill such time he hadde seene whether the king woulde send him any messenger or not. And tarrieng for the same, there came

came a boorde him, a boate with a Flag in the same, in the which there was a Frier of the order of Saint Frauncis, whome after that our men had sight of him, they iudged to be one of those that were in the company of Aries Correa, & remained captiue. This frier being entred into the ship, said Deo gracias, by the same he was knowne to be a Moore, howbeit to excuse himselfe he said that he came after that sort, that they might the rather consent vnto his comming aboorde, being sent with a message from the king to the Captaine Generall, about the setteling of a trade in Calicut. Vnto this the Captaine generall made answere, commaunding him not to speake thereof, vntill such time the king had satisfied him for all that he had taken in the Factory, when he consented to the death of Aries Correa, and the others that were with him. In this matter they spent three daies with messages to & fro, without anye conclusion, for that the Moores did withstande the same.

The Captaine general perceiuing ỹ all these delaies were but lies to spend the time, he sent him then woord that hee minded not to tarrie for answere any longer then none, & the same to be with effect, and to complie with him, or else he would make him most cruell warre, with fire & sword, and that forthwith he wold begin it vpon such his subiects as he had taken prisoners. And because the king should not thinke them to be words onely, he commaunded to bring him a running glasse of an houre, and thereuppon he tolde the Moore that went with the message, that of those Glasses there should runne so many, and as sone as they were ended, without any further delay he would commaund all that to be done, which he had sent him word off. But all this could not moue the king to performe anye thing that he had promised, he was so inconstant and giuen to change, with euerye vaine faieng of the Moores: and the outward shew that hee made of peace, was but feigned, by reason of the feare hee had conceiued in himselfe, to see so greate a fleet in his port or harbour, by ỹ which he feared to receiue

The Moores make him keepe no promise with the Capteine Generall, nor feare his powre

great loſſe, whereof the Moꝛes did aſſure him the contraꝛye, which was the occaſion that he kepte no pꝛomiſe. Upon this the Captaine generall as ſone as the time was come, commaunded to bee ſhotte off a peece, which was the ſigne he gaue to the other Captaines, to commaund thoſe Malabars to bee hanged, which were departed amongſt the Fleete. After that they were executed, he commaunded their feete and handes to bee cut off, which were thꝛowne into a Parao and ſent a ſhoare with two Boates well armed, and a Letter foꝛ the king of Calycut wꝛitten in the Arabian tongue, in ỹ which hee ſignified vnto him ỹ in ſuch manner, he would paye him foꝛ all his faigned lyes which he had ſpoken vnto this pꝛeſent. And as foꝛ his kinges goods, which he did deteine in his hands, he woulde recouer them a hundꝛed folde. After all this, he gaue commandement, that in the night there ſhuld be bꝛought thꝛee ſhips as neere to the ſhoare as they could, that the next day without ceaſing there ſhould be ſhot all the great Oꝛdinaunce that they had at the Citie, with the which there was great hurt done, beſides the kings houſe which was ouerthꝛown therewith, and ſundꝛie other houſes of the pꝛincipall inhabitaunts. This being done, he departed towarde Coching, leaning to keepe that Coaſt fiue ſhippes which were well appointed, of the which was named foꝛ Captaine Generall one called Vincente Sodre, to remaine with them in the Indias, that therewith he might goe and diſcouer the ſtraights of Meca, and the coaſt of Cambaia.

How the Captaine Generall came to Coching, and what he did there, & alſo how the king of Calycut ſent to traine him thether, for that there hee would traiterouſly haue taken him, and laſt of all he wrote a Letter to the king of Coching.

Chap. 47.

The

The Captaine generall being come to the Port or Harbour of Cochin, when ỹ king had notice thereof, he sent him before he came a land, certaine Pleadges to remaine in the ship for his assurance. And afterward he came in person and met him. In this visitation the King did delyuer vnto him Steuen Gyl, with all the others that remained in his Countrey, and in recompence of that, the Captaine generall deliuered him a letter, which the King of Portingale had sent him, rendring vnto him most hartie thankes, for the good will he alwaies shewed to Pedro Aluares Cabral: and that he was well pleased and contented, to haue a Factory setteled in Cochin. Also there was deliuered vnto him a Present, which ỹ King his Master had sent him: which was a rich Crowne of gold, full of Jewells, a Cholar of golde all inameld, two Fountaines of siluer wrought, two Arras clothes of Imagery worke, a costly Pauilion, a peece of crimson Satten, and another of Sendall, all which ỹ King did receiue with great pleasure. And for ỹ he vnderstood not wherefore euery of these things serued, he requested to be informed of the same. And therefore the Captaine generall commaunded the Pauilion or Tent to be armed, in the which was concluded a further peace. Also he gaue him a house to settle therein the Factorie. Moreouer, the price was agreed vpon, how he would deliuer the Spices & Drugs that were gathered in his country: of all these things ther was a contract made & set down, which was confirmed by the King. And for a further assurance therof, the King of Cochin, sent to the King of Portingale a Present, which was two Bracelets of golde, set with stones, a towell which the Moores doe vse of cloath of siluer, which was two yeards & a halfe of length, two great peeces of linnen Cloth, which they doe call Bengala, made of Cotten woll, which was excellent fine, a stone of the bignes of a walnut, which they doe take out of the head of a beast: they call the same in the Indias, Bulgoldolf, of the which

The king of Portingales present sét to the king of Cochin.

The king of Cochings present sét to the king of Portingale.

there are but few found, and theſe are good againſt all poyſon. The houſe in the which they determined to ſettle their Factorie being graunted, poſſeſſion thereof was immediately taken by Diego Hernandus, and other two which were Notaries: the one was called Lorenso Moreno, & the other Aluaro, vas with others. Whiles the Captaine generalls ſhip was taking in of his lading, there came a meſſenger from the King of Calycut vnto him, ſaieng: that if it bee that he would retourne to Calycut, he woulde reſtore vnto him all that had bene taken from him, and that he ſhoulde ſettle a Trade there. The Captaine generall, after that hee had conſidered vpon the meſſage, commaunded the meſſenger to priſon, for this intent, to reuenge himſelfe on him, if ſo be that the King did lye, ſince he had ſo oftentimes deceiued him. And being now determined to goe towarde Calycut, which was more to ſee whether that he coulde recouer the Merchaundize that were taken, then for anye hope hee had of the Kings friendſhip, would for that cauſe go alone, leauing behinde him for his Lieuetenaunt, Steuen de la Gama. The Captaines that remained were ſore againſt his going alone, and eſpecially after that ſort, for feare of miſchaunce: yet he would not be perſwaded but to goe, ſaieng that along that Coaſt there was Vincente Sodre with the other ſhips, that were appointed to remaine in the Indias: and if ſo be that he were driuen to any neceſſitie, hee would ioyne with them. As ſoone as the King was informed that he was come to Calycut, he ſent him immediatly word, that the next day he would comply with him for all ſuch goods, as had bene taken from Pedro Aluares, and afterwarde hee would renue the Trade, and ſettle the Factorie. But contrarie to theſe his wordes, as ſoone as he had knowledge that the Captaine generall was come alone, vpon a ſodayne he commaunded to be made in a readineſſe xxtiiii. Paraos, with intent to ſet vpon him, & ſo to take him if it were poſſible. And indeed with ſuch a ſodaine came vpon him, that to eſcape them, he was fain to cut one of his Cables, which he had out, and ſo made ſaile. And as the winde was of the land,

This meſſeger was one of his chief chaplaines.

land, he went somewhat further off from those Paraos, yet for all that they did not giue him ouer, but alwaies followed him with such a vehemencie, that hadde it not bene for Vincente Sodre and the others which kept along ỹ Coast, he had bene taken, but yet at length they were faine to run their way. Being thus escaped, he retourned to Coching, & as soone as he came thether he commanded the messenger to be hanged, whom the King of Calycut had sent vnto him: for the which deed hee remained greatly affrighted, when the same came to his knowledge. But seeing now that by no means he could take him, he determined then to proue, whether he could perswade the King of Coching to giue him no lading, and also not to consent to any Factory for him in his Countrey.

How the Moores were the principall doers heerein, that moued the King to write concerning that matter by one of his Chaplaines to the King of Coching after this manner.

The king of Calycuts letter to ỹ king of Coching

I Doe vnderstand that thou fauourest Christians, and that thou hast receiued them into thy Citie, & there dost giue them both lading & victualls. It is possible thou dost not foresee what danger may insue therof, & also how much thou dost displesure me. I do request thee ỹ thou remember what great friends we haue ben till this present, & now thou dost procure my displeasure, in especiall for so small a matter, as is ỹ maintaining of those Christians, which are theeues, ỹ accustome to rob in other mens Countries. From henceforth my request is, ỹ thou do not receiue them, neither yet giue them spices: in the which thou shalt not onely shew me pleasure, but also binde me to requit thy good will in what thou shalt command. I wil not now further request ỹ same, for I beléeue thou wilt do it wᵗ out further intretie, as I wold for thee in any matter of importance. This letter being perused by the king of Coching, who was honest & true in al his delings, he was not moued there-

therewith, but aunſwered the King of Calycut, after this ſort.

The aunſwere of the king of Cochíng to the king of Calycuts letter

I Cannot well tell how it can be done, being a matter of ſo great a waight, as is to put out of my Citie thoſe Chriſtians, hauing receiued them vpon my word: and to do it ſo eaſily as thou doeſt write. I will neuer requeſt thée of anye ſuch matter, at the deſire of the Moores of Meca, neither yet vpon the inſtaunce of no other Merchauntes, that are Traders to Calycut. In receiuing theſe Chriſtians, and giuing them lading for their ſhips, I do beléeue that neither to thée nor any other, I doe offence: ſince that it is a cuſtome we haue amongſt vs, to ſell our Merchandize to thoſe that will buy them, and to fauour thoſe Merchaunts, which doe reſort vnto our Countrey. Theſe Chriſtians came to ſéeke me out farre off, and for that cauſe I did receiue them, & promiſed to defend them. They are no théeues as thou doſt tearme them, for they bring great ſums of money, in golde and ſiluer, and Merchaundize, wherewith they do trade. Their friendſhip I doe and will obſerue, doing therein but my dutie, and ſo oughteſt thou to doe, and otherwiſe I will not take thée to be my friend: neither yet oughteſt thou or any other be agréeued or offended withall, for that which I doe, is to inrich my Citie.

With this aunſwere the King of Calycut was ſore offended: whereby hée toke occaſion to write this letter following.

The reply to the king of Cochings letter.

IT grieueth me very much, the hatred or enuie thou haſt conceiued againſt me, for that thereby I do perceiue thou wilt leaue my friendſhippe for thoſe Chriſtians ſake, which I take for my great enimies, & ought to be the cauſe that thou ſhouldeſt accept them after the ſame ſort.

Once more therefore I doe returne to deſire thée, that thou wilt neither receiue them, nor yet giue them their lading for their ſhips. For if ſo be thou wilt not be perſwaded, to the contrary, but rather meaneſt to proſecute thine intent, then

I take God to my Iudge, and from henceforth I doe protest, that I am not in fault of the damage that will growe vnto thée thereof.

The King of Coching hauing receiued this letter, laughed at it, saieng to his Chaplaine that was the bringer thereof, that he would doe nothing for feare, but that which hée minded to doe should be vpon request, and so aunswered to this letter.

I Haue séene thy message, which soundeth as it were threatenings. God who alwaies resisteth pride, doth fauour him that hath Iustice & equitie on his side. Since thou art my friend, do not request me so an abhominable and vnlawfull a request, as is to vse treason, especiall amongst Kings, and if there be any other thing that grieueth thée, and is not hurtfull to mine honour, I will doe it, yea, although it wer to my losse, which I doe not estéeme in comparison of mine honour. I doe trust that thou wilt take this aunswere in good part, and preuent the death of men, and the destruction of thy Countrey. But if so be notwithstanding, thou wilt maintaine thine opinion, God doth well knowe & perceiue that hereof I am in no fault. The king of Cochings answere to the reply.

The King of Calycut perceiuing that the King of Coching, did stand so much vpon his reputation, and wold not doe that which he had requested him, did then determine, (the Captain generall being once departing) to set vpon him by the waye, and vtterly to destroy him, against whome he commaunded to be made in a readines, a Fléet of xxix. great ships, that they might encounter with him vpon the Sea, at his departure toward Portingale, supposing, that forasmuch as they went laden, he should be the better able to do them the more harme.

Of the battaile that was fought betweene the Fleet of Calycut and the Captaine generall, as hee was going toward Cananor: & how Vincente Sodre,

Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres tooke two of thoſe ſhips, & how the Captaine generall departed toward Portingale. Chap. 49.

IF all theſe letters and meſſages, the King of Coching woulde neuer make the Captaine generall priuie, vntill ſuch time that he was ready to depart, and then he tolde him, which before he was loth to doe. And for that he ſhould not conceiue and thinke him to be ſo vaine as to alter his minde to doe as the King of Calycut would haue him: he did therefore ſhewe himſelfe to be ſo conſtant, and ſuch a friend of the king of Portingales, that for his ſake he woulde aduenture to loſe his Citie if it were neede. For this the Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, ſaieng, that the King his Maſter would neuer forget that good will: and in his name he promiſed to fauour and ſuccour him in ſuch ſort, that he ſhoulde not onely haue his kingdome in great aſſuraunce, but alſo that he would ayde him to conquere others. He willed him alſo not to feare thoſe Letters that the King of Calicut hadde ſent him, for that they were nothing els but to put him in feare, and bring him to be a traitor as he was, being therefore ſo deſtroyed, and that from henceforth there ſhoulde bee made ſuch cruell wars againſt him, ý he ſhuld haue inough to doe to defend himſelfe, much leſſe to make warres againſt others. All this he tolde him, for the ſuccour of thoſe ſhips which ſhould remaine in the Indias.

Great friendſhip and conſtancie in an heathē Prince.

Theſe wordes were ſpoken afore many of his Nayres, of the which the King was verye gladde that they heard them. And for that we had knowledge that in reſpect of the friendſhip that they had with the Moores, they were verye ſorye that we had the Factory graunted in Coching. Therefore the Captaine Generall promiſed vnto the King that from Cananor hee woulde forthwith ſende him thether a Fléte of ſhips, from whence he was minded to departe.

Now

Now after that he had laden his ten shippes, and was a Sea boorde, three leagues from Pandarane, he had knowledge of the nine and twentie great shippes of the Moores, that went to seeke him out. And as sone as he had sight of them, he consulted with his Captaines to fight with them, vpon whom with the winde that did begin to blowe, they did beare.

This being agreed vppon, the Generall began to beare toward the Enimies. Vincente Sodre, Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres, for that theyr shipps were great saylers, went before them all, and these were the first that did giue the onset vpon two of the chiefest shipps. Vincente Sodre, fought with the one alone, and Pedro Raphael, and Diego Pieres with the other. Their meeting was with such a valyaunt minde, that out of both the Enimyes shippes there leapt many into the Sea. The fight indured no longer, but vntill such time the Captaine generall with the other shippes drewe neere, who did alwayes shote off at them. In the meane while the rest of the Enimies did beare all that they could towarde the shoare. The Captaine generall for feare of the losse of some of his shippes, would not followe, the rather for that they were all laden: Howbeit, our men leapte into theyr boates, and there fought with those that were swimming in the water, and slewe them all: the which were neere to the number of three hundred persons. A battaile by sea betweene our shipps, and the kings of Calicut

After this the Captaine Generall commaunded to discharge theyr Shippes, which were taken, in the which was founde store of rich Merchaundize: and amongest the same these peeces following: Sire great Tynages of fine Earth, which they doe call Porcelanas, and the same is verye costlye, as by experience thereof we do see in Portingale: foure great Guyndes of siluer, with certaine perfuming Pannes of siluer: also they there founde, certayne Balons of siluer and gylte, in the which they doe vse to spit. But that which exceeded the rest, was an Idoll of Golde, which weighed thirtie pounde waight, with a A rich price take from the enimie.

monſtrous face and for his eyes he had two verye fine Emeraulodes: a Veſſement of beaten golde, wrought and ſet with fine ſtone, the which veſſement belonged vnto this Idoll, with a Carbuncle or Rubie in his breaſt as bigge as a Croſado, which gaue as great a lyght as it had bene a fire. The ſhips being ſet a fire, ỹ Captaine general departed toward Cananor, wher he was with the King, who gaue him a houſe for the Factorie, the poſſeſſion whereof was taken by Gonſallo Gill Barboſa, who was appointed for Factor, and by Sebaſtian Aluares, and Diego Godino, Notaries, and by the Interpretour, called Edwarte Barboſo, and ſundry others, in all to the number of twentie, of all whom the King toke charge vpon him, with all that was in the Factorie: and bound himſelfe to lade from thenceforth all the King of Portingales ſhips of Spices, that they ſhould at any time haue néd of, and this at a certaine price which was immediately named. The Captaine generall did enter into the like bonds in the name of the King of Portingale, to defend him from all thoſe that ſhoulde make him warres for this cauſe. Alſo the King of Cananor did the lyke, and to remaine the King of Cochings friend, and not to helpe nor aide any that ſhould come againſt him, vpon paine that wée ſhould make him warres: and of all this, there were ſufficient, great and lawfull writings made on all parts. After this, the Captain generall ſent Vincente Sodre to go along the Coaſt, and to kéepe the ſame vntill Februarie. And if in the meane while there were any newes or knowledge of any lykelihood of warres, betwéene the King of Coching & the King of Calycut, that then he ſhoulde Winter there in Coching: but if not, that then he ſhould go to the ſtraights of the red Sea, to take ſuch ſhips of Meca, as doe paſſe to the Indias.

The order that vvas giuen to Vincente Sodre, at the departure of the Captaine generall frō Cananor.

This being diſpatched, and thoſe thrée ſhippes laden with that they ſhould haue, they departed toward Portingale with thirtéene ſhippes, the twentith daye of December, in the yeare of our Lord 1503. and ſo arriued with all their ſhips at Monſanbique.

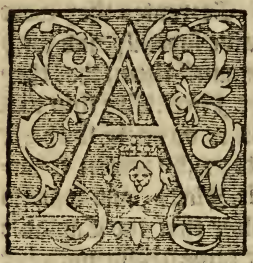
And

And for that the ship that Steuen de la Gama went in had a great leake, he commaunded the same to be vnladen and brought a ground, and after that she was newlye rigged, they departed. And within seauen dayes after, there fell a great leake in the ship ỹ Lewis Cotine was in, & for that it was in such a place that they could not come by it, they were therefore driuen with all the Fléte to retourne to Mosanbique, to new rigge the same. Now the winde was scant, they were faine to remaine in a certeine creéke, vntill she was finished, and afterwarde they retourned to their voyage, and at the Cape of the Correntes they were so ouertaken with stormes which came sodeinly, and with such a force vpon them, and that against them, that they were forced to stay there with all the Fléte. The ship that Steuen de la Gama went in did beare vp onely with her fore saile, and his sprit Saile all to torne, by reason wherof he lost the companie of the whole Fléte, and was no more séene. And within fiue dayes after that the Captaine Generall arriued at Lisshorne, shée came in also with her Mast broken. This storme being past from this Cape of the Currents, the Captaine Generall followed his course toward Lisshorne, where he arriued the first day of September. All the noble men of the Court went as farre as Cascaes to receiue and accompanie him till he came to the king. He had going before him his Page, which carryed a Bason of siluer, within the same was layde all the tribute which the king of Quiloa had paide. Béeing come where the king was, his grace honourably receiued him, according as he did deserue, who had done him so great seruice, as it was to discouer the Indias, and to leaue setled Factoryes in Cochin, and in Cananor, which things must néeds redound vnto the king to most certeine gaine and profit, besides the great fame and honour which he got therby, in being the first king that had sent to discouer the East partes, whereof he might make conquest, if so be that it pleased him. So in satisfaction the king made him Admerall of the Indias, and also gaue him the title of Lord of Vydegue-

They vvere dispersed by a tempest

ro, which was his owne.

Of the newes that were giuen out in Coching, how the king of Calycut put himſelfe in a readineſſe for the warres, and how Vincente Sodre wold not ſuccour him, but went to the cape of Quardafum. Chap. 50.



SO ſone as the king had knowledge that ỳ Captaine general was departed toward Portingale, he immediatly determined to put his warres in execution, which he had ſignified to ỳ king of Coching before. And ſo he marched toward the village of Panane, where he beganne to ioyne his power, which was immediatly knowne vnto all thoſe of Coching, for that it was not far of. Wherfore the dwellers there were wonderfully afeard, ſaieng, that they had cauſe ſo to be, for that the king of Coching did all things contrarie to iuſtice and equitie. And ſince he did the ſame vnto thoſe that are of his ſect, and all moſt naturally borne with him, why ſhould he not doe the like vnto the chriſtians which are our enimies? And for that God doth well perceiue the iuſt quarrell the king of Calycut hath to make him warres, that he will therefore aide and ſuccour him therein, vpon the charges of thoſe that are innocents thereof. This they did not onelye tell our men, but alſo in euery place they railed at them, and endeauoured to procure as much hurt as they coulde againſt them.

Both commons & noble mẽ repine againſt theyr king and our men.

Some of them alſo that were in credite with the king, and ought vs no great good will, did openlye ſaye, that if ſo bée that the king of Calycut did come with a greater power then they hadde, they would immediatlye deliuer

uer our men vnto him, since the warres were begunne in respect of vs and for our sakes, they did put in hazarde the losse of their kingdome. The king merualling much of the boldnesse of his subiects, aunswered them with louing wordes, saieng that they had offended him verie sore with their vaine speach, assuring them, that if so bee that the king of Calycut woulde come and seeke him out, yet hee would notwithstanding defende himselfe, onely for that hee well knoweth, that God will fauour him, for his iust dealing in defending those christians, as he had taken vpon him to doe. But for all this his subiects coulde not bee well pacified, whereof some were desirous to set vppon our men, but yet they durst not, for that the king had allowed them a gard to attend vppon them, and also appointed a strong place for their lodging. Vpon this, there came newes that Vincente Sodre was come to Coching, who had left greate hurt done along the coast of Calicut, both by water and by land.

Of whose comming all our men were very glad, for that they were before in great daunger. But the Factor perceiuing that they came not a land, sent the Captaine generall word by Laurenco Moreno, the certeintie they heard of the warres, which the king of Calycut was minded to make vppon the king of Coching, and where hee was at that present in a readinesse for the same. Requesting him on his behalfe, and requiring him in the name of the king of Portingale, that he woulde forthwith disimbarke himselfe, for that with his being in Coching they were certein they should remaine conquerours, yeelding sufficient reason for the same, & otherwise that they were in greate daunger. The Generall aunswered, that he was appointed for Captaine Generall of the Sea, and not of the lande, and did therefore remaine in the Indias, onelye to keepe the seas. The Captain generall excuseth himselfe for deling on the lande.

Neuertheless if so bee that the king of Calycut had prepared his warres against the king of Coching, by sea, he would haue defended him, but since it was by lande,

he had nothing to doe withall, but to ſuffer the king to defend himſelfe, for that he would depart to diſcouer the redde Sea. The Factor vpon this determinate anſwere, did once more ſend vnto him, requiring him on Gods behalfe, and the king of Portingales that he would not leaue them ſo, for that the king of Cochings power was but ſmall to defend himſelfe withall, in theſe warres againſt the king of Calicut, who had begun the ſame onely and for none other cauſe, but to deſtroy our Factorie. And therfore he as Captaine Generall of the king of Portingale, was bound for to defend him, and that this was the principall cauſe why he remained in the Indias. But for all this the Generall would not tarrie, and ſo he departed with the reſt of his Fléet toward the Cape de Quardafum, where he did well knowe that he ſhoulde take ſundrye rich priſes. This was that which he did better remember, then to ſtay and defend the king of Coching or the king of Portingales Factorie.

This generall captaine had other matters of more profit in hand.

How the king of Calicut ſignified vnto his noble men, & all ſuch as did aſſiſt him, the cauſes why he made this warre againſt the king of Coching. And how the Prince Nabeadarni was hee, that onely ſpake againſt the ſame. chap. 50.

After that the king of Calycut was come to Panane, thether alſo came preſentlye ſundry noble men his ſubiects and others his friends whome he had ſent for to aide and ſuccour him in this enterprize. Others there were that came before they were ſent for: For as ſone they heard that the warres were begun, and that for our ſakes that remained in Coching (of the which they were all glad) hoping therby to hunt vs out of the Indias, & therfore they came with the better good will to ſéeke the deſtruction of the king of Coching. There were alſo of his owne ſubiects that aroſe againſt him, and ſome

of

of his nobilitye, as the Caimall of chirapipill, and hée of Cambalane, and also he of the greate Iland which is ouer against Cochin, who carryed with them all the power that they were able to make. And béing come into the presence of the king of Calycut, he spake vnto them all.

IF that good workes doe engender friendshippe, amongest men, then I, and you for my sake, and generally all the Malabars ought to beare the same greatly vnto the Portingales, for that it is well knowne, that it is fiue hundred yeare since they came into the Prouince of Malabar, and in all this time, yea, to this date, there was neuer anie that euer receiued at theyr handes anye hurt or losse. But hauing no sooner receiued straungers newly come into anye of our Countries, immediatlye we receiue losse by them, whersoeuer they doe beginne to settle theyr trade. But the Portingales doe trade with the people with all friendshippe, and loue, as ought to doe one naturall neighbour with an other, by whose meanes the Countrey hath béne alwayes well prouided of much victualls and merchandise, which hath bœne a cause to enrich our Townes, and that our rents are greatly increased, in especiall within this our Citie. For whilest the Portingales are here resident, they haue made the same the greatest mart Towne that is in all the Indias.

The king of Calicut signifieth the cause vvhy hee beginneth to make these vvarres against the king of Cochin.

For this cause I am bounde in conscience, and haue greate reason to fauour them, and to mistyke of the christians which to my greate hinderaunce, yea, and against my good will, wold settle in my land, more for to take the same, and to destroye mée, then to bring mée anye profite or gaines as the Portingales doe, hauing giuen of themselues greate shewes and signes thereof within these few daies, that they were here: as in taking of my Captaine Generall, and my Embassadour prisoners, in making of new lawes in my Citie, to lade their shippes first, and before the Portingales shuld lade. And vpon this they toke an occasion to staye a certeine Shippe of the Portingales, which was the

„ cauſe, that the Pꝛꝛes did as you doe heare, and as I maye
„ iudge by the ſequeale thereof, was ſo oꝛdeined of God foꝛ
„ theyꝛ pꝛide, of the which hée was in no fault. Yet this not-
„ withſtanding, they burnt ten of my ſhippes which lay with-
„ in my harbour.

„ After all this, they with theyꝛ Oꝛdinance deſtroyed my
„ Citye, ſo that I was dꝛiuen to runne awaye out of my pal-
„ laice. Not contented with this, they burnt me other two
„ ſhippes, which they woulde not haue done if ſo be that they
„ had come to ſettle a trade. But firſt of all ſince they found
„ themſelues agrœued, they ſhoulde haue come and made
„ theyꝛ complaint to mée of the Pꝛꝛes, and tarryed till I had
„ puniſhed them, and not to doe as they haue done, by which
„ it was apparant, that they are thœues and no Merchants,
„ as they name themſelues to be, that vnder this coulour, they
„ might conquere the whole Countrie. Which things the
„ king of Coching would neuer vnderſtand noꝛ giue credit
„ vnto, although I ſent him woꝛde. And being as he is, my
„ ſubiect, & wel vnderſtanding what they had done vnto mée,
„ yet he would not but receiue them, & giue them lading foꝛ
„ their ſhips, and now he hath giuen them a factoꝛie, I ſen-
„ ding him woꝛd and pꝛaieng him many times that he wold
„ not conſent therevnto. Foꝛ this cauſe therfoꝛe I haue ſent
„ foꝛ you, that you ſhould ioyne your ſelues. And alſo to re-
„ queſt you to tell me your opinions, whether I haue reaſon
„ to reuenge my ſelfe oꝛ no?

Heere this enterpriſe vvas vvell liked of by his noble men & others

This determination to them all ſéemed verie good, and they pꝛaiſed his purpoſed intent, but pꝛincipally the Lord of Repelyn, foꝛſomuch as hée was a greate enimie to the king of Coching, foꝛ that he had vſurped an Iland of his called Arraul: alſo of the ſelfe ſame opinion were other pꝛincipall Pꝛꝛes. But againſt this his pꝛetended iourney ſpake the kings bꝛother called Nambeadarin, which was the onely heire to the kingdome after the death of his bꝛo-ther: who immediatlye in the pꝛeſence of them all ſayde:

THE kindred that is betweene thée and mée, beside sundrie other thinges, may certifie thée that I do desire more thine honour and profit, then anye that bée héere present, and therefore my councell ought to be of a more efficacie then anye others. For as they are not so greatlye bound to giue thée the same as I am, so as it appeareth they doe fede thy humour, and councell thee according to thy will, since thou art desirous to accept it, and not according to good reason, which thou hast to leaue it. But if so bée that they without flatterye, and thou without passion, wouldest iudge or weigh the cause of these Christians, thou shouldest finde, that vnto this present time they haue giuen thée no cause, but that they should be well receiued into thy Countrie, and so into all the Prouince of Malabar, and not to hunt them forth lyke théeues, which they cannot bée called, although they were present. And forasmuch as from all the places of the worlde, men doe resorte hether, and assemble themselues to buye those Merchandise which they haue not in theyr Countryes, and bring those hether which we haue not héere.

In the same sorte come these Christians, and as the custome is of Merchauntes, they brought thée in their kings behalfe, the richest present that thou diddest yet euer receiue. And besides theyr merchandise they brought much Golde and siluer made in coine, which they doe not vse to bring which come to make warres. And if so bée they hadde come in anye such sorte, they woulde not haue dissimuled the running awaye that the Pleadges offered vnto them whome thou doest call Embassadours, that were kepte in Prison, for that theyr Captaine was a Lande.

But they reconciling themselues vnto thée, went and toke the shippe at thy request in the which was the greate Elephant, and afterward did present thée therwith, and with all that the same ship carried: besides, those that are théeues

The answere which the prince made to the foresayde Oration.

,, doe not vse so to doe, nor yet paye so well, nor vse so much
,, truth as they did, for all the time that they were in Caly-
,, cut, there was none that did complaine of them, but onely
,, the Moores, which they did, for that they are their enimies,
,, and being moued with enuy to see them partakers of their
,, profite, did accuse them that they hadde taken greate store
,, of Pepper from the owners against theyr wills, they
,, themselues being those that vse the same, and for that the
,, Christians shoulde not benefite themselues by lading of
,, theyr ships. And forasmuch as this was so apparant, thou
,, gauest them license to take theyr fraight, by the which li-
,, cense, the Captaine sent to the shippe of the Moores, which
,, was laden, and they being in all the whole fault, did yet
,, notwithstanding rise against them. These men then haue
,, done as it is well knowne to the world, and yet for all this
,, as quiet men ought to doe, they tarryed all one daye to see
,, whether thou woldest excuse thy selfe. But they seeing that
,, there came none from thee, they did then put in execution
The execution of the pledges defended by the kings brother
the reuenge, not traiterously as the Moores doe, which went not to defend the ships, although now they speake with a stout stomacke, and councell thee to make these warres against the king of Coching, for that he did receiue them into his Citie, where no iust cause is at all. For his receiuing of them, it is not to be iudged that it is to hinder thee:
,, but he receiued them as he would anye other merchaunt
,, that would haue come to his harbour. After the selfe same
,, sort did the king of Cananor, and the king of Coulan deale
,, with them, who would not haue admitted them if they had
,, knowne them to bee theeues. If thou bee minded to banish
,, them out of the Indias, and for this cause art determined to
,, make warre against the king of Coching: it is requisite
,, also thou make warre against the king of Cananor, for
,, from thence they may doe that which thou feareste they will
,, from Coching. But I will not let to tell thee, that thou do-
,, est aduenture thy selfe against him. For that as thou thin-
,, kest he is of lesse power then the king of Cananor,

These words were spoken by Nambeadarin, with such a stomacke and so liberally to the King, that they were by him well taken: In one respect, for that he was a very valyaunt Gentleman, and in another, for that he was with him in great credit and authoritie. And for this cause they hadde him in great reputation: Insomuch, that if the Mores and Caymayles had not shewed themselues verye stout against him, the King woulde not haue gone forward with his enterprise to make warre against the King of Coching. Howbeit, they stood vppon their reputation so much, that they thought it would be a great imbasing to their credite, in especially hauing assembled so great a power as the King had done, and not to goe forward, or at the least to do some what afore they did retourne. By meanes whereof, it was possible, that the King of Coching hearing of their comming, would now doe that for feare, which hee would not otherwise doe before, being prayed. After all this, the King of Calycut would nedes know of his Witches, what daye was good to march forward in with his Armie, who appointed him a fortunate one, and promised him the victory against the King of Coching, and that as yet there would come vnto him more men. With this certainetie, which the Witches had comforted the King withall, which he much trusted vpon, he departed toward the Countrey of Repelyn, which is foure leagues from Coching.

The Mores ouerthrow the credit of ỹ kings brothers Oration.

¶Of the great feare that our men were in, least the King of Coching would haue deliuered them to the King of Calycut, Cap. 52.

IF all this, whatsoeuer hadde past, was the King of Coching aduertised, by sundry espyes which he had in the Campe of ỹ king of Calycut: and therefore he stode somewhat in feare of him, for that he hadde not sufficient men to defend himselfe, forasmuch as all those that he hoped had fauoured him, were tourned a-

gainſt him: yea, euen thoſe that were his owne ſubiectes, whome if he hadde on his ſide, he had bene ſure to haue giuen the King of Calycut the ouerthrow. Therefore, for that he had but fewe men, he was greatly afeard thereof, and the rather, for that of thoſe there, the moſt part ſerued him againſt their will, in eſpecially they that were dwellers in Coching, which did abhorre ỹ very ſight of our men, where vpon they openly ſpake it, that it were good that the King of Coching ſhould deliuer our men to the king of Calycut, or els that he put them out of Coching, and ſo he might acquite himſelfe of theſe warres. Moreouer, there were many of the inhabitants of Coching, that ranne their wayes, and left their houſes, and all for feare of this warre. Our men alſo on the other parte were greatly afeard to ſée this tumult, which gaue them occaſion to waye the daunger that they wer in, for all that the king did warrant them. Wherfore the Factor fearing the ſucceſſe thereof, procured lycenſe of the King to goe to Cananor, hoping that there, they ſhould be very quiet, vntill ſuch time the fléete ſhould come from Portingale, thinking that the King by this meanes, ſhould breake vp thoſe warres, that were pretended againſt him, and alſo his Subiectes be the better contented therewith.

The very ſight of our men abhorred in Coching

But at thoſe wordes the King ſéemed to be in heanines, & tolde the Factor, that nów it appeared very well, that he had but ſmall confidence in him, that he would aſke him licenſe to depart, and therfore he told him he would giue him none: but rather requeſted him earneſtly not to haue any ſuch miſtruſt, for he there gaue him his worde, and it ſtode him ſo much vpon his credite, in preſeruing them all alyue, that he would rather loſe his kingdome and lyfe withall, then deliuer them to the King of Calycut, or to other that ſhould doe them any harme. And if ſo be that his euill Fortune were ſo great that he ſhould loſe Coching, yet there would not lacke a place of ſufficient ſtrength to ſende them vnto, vntill the comming of the nexte Fléete from Portingale to the Indias.

The aunſwere vvhich the king of Cochíng made to the factor

And

And although sayd he, the king of Calycut shoulde come with a great power, yet for all that he is not assured of the victory: for it is seene many times that few with valyant hearts, doe giue the ouerthrowe vnto great numbers without strength: much more hauing as I haue, Iustice & equitie on my side. And therefore he willed them to be quyet, & to pray vnto their God to giue him y victory. With these words, knowing well that the king did speake them with a louing minde, our men remained somewhat eased of the feare wherein they were, and would haue kissed his hands, but he would not suffer them so to doe, nor yet woulde agree that they should helpe him in his warres, which they did offer him to do, but answered them, that he would not place them in anye such daungerous place, for that it stode vpon his credite so much to keepe them alyue. And for that they should remaine as witnesses, how much he did trauell to saue their lyues, therefore from thencefoorth he committed the keeping of them vnto certayne Nayres, such as he had a confidence in.

Fewe hauing the right on their side, preuayle most times against nũbers that come in an euill cause.

And that this mutenie might cease, and they from thence forth not haue anye occasion to murmure against our men, he commaunded to be called afore him all his Noble men, such as were with him, and also certaine of the principall Nayres, which were the occasion of all this trouble, & spake vnto them after this manner.

The king of Cochings Oration to his noble men.

I Cannot but be verye heauie, to see so lyttle truth remayne in you: For I meruayle nothing at all at the rusticall sorte of men, whome oftentimes their pouertie enforceth to vse all kinde of villanye. But of you, I doe greatlye meruayle that are Nayres, that haue bene alwaies true in your dealyngs, that you now would haue me breake my worde and promise, that I haue alreadye giuen to the Captayne Generall, concerning these Christians, which was to keepe his men to the vttermost of my power, and to loke that no man shoulde doe them anye harme or violence, but alwayes for to haue as good a regarde vnto

„ vnto them as vnto mine owne naturall ſubiects. And there-
„ fore he left them in this my Citie, which was done alſo by
„ your conſents. And ſince you doe perceiue, that the King of
„ Calycut hath a fewe more men then I, ye would perſwade
„ me to doe contarry to my promiſe: ſo that if I were of ſo
„ ill a nature as you would haue me to be, then ought you of
„ all other to abhorre me, and crye out vpon me. Be ye here-
„ in your owne Iudges, If you remained with anye other
„ King vpon his word, would you allow that as well done in
„ him, which you would haue me doe, by theſe Chriſtians?
„ In eſpeciall, counting him as we account of this man, for
„ our enimy, hauing none occaſion ſo to be, as the King of Ca-
„ lycut: and I your King, hauing no occaſion to deliuer you,
„ as I haue none to delyuer theſe Chriſtians? Which, ſince
„ it is ſo, what is the councell that ye minde to giue me her-
„ in, that may not be reprehended in another? If it be for that
You are afeard of the King of Calycut, then know this; that
it were better to dye an honourable death then to liue with
diſhonour, then which there cannot happen greater to me,
then to breake my word, nor yet more infamie vnto you,
then to be ſubiects to a ruſticall and falſe King, in eſpeciall
againſt theſe Chriſtians, who haue brought me ſo great pro-
fite as they haue done. And as for the King of Calycut, he
well knoweth that if he wold haue conſented that the Fac-
torie might haue bene ſetteled in his Citie, he might haue
„ kept them in his Countrey. But now becauſe they are
„ gone he mooueth theſe warres, the rather, for that he well
„ knoweth my power is but ſmall, and therfore mindeth to
„ reuenge on me the loſſe he hath receiued. If his meaning be
„ none other, then to hunt theſe Chriſtians out of the Indias,
„ and to fight with him, whoſoeuer receiueth them into his
„ Countrey, why then doth he not beginne his warres firſt
„ with the King of Cananor? But that is not the occaſion
„ onely, but the enuie which he hath to ſee me benefited, and
„ for that with his pride he ſuppoſeth, that I am not able to
„ reſiſt him. All this doe I very well vnderſtand, and more-
„ uer I doe receiue comfort in preſerning of theſe Chriſtians,

It is better to dye with honor, then to lyue with the infamous name of a rude and lieng Prince.

hoping

hoping in God, that he therefore will giue me the victory against him. And as touching you that are my friends, I pray you therefore to stand to me.

Now all that were present hereby, seeing this his determination, meruailed greatlye at his constancie, and craued pardon at his hands for the feare they found themselues to be in before, promising all of them to lyue and dye in his seruice: for the which he gaue them heartie thankes. Immediately after this, he commaunded the Factor to be called with the rest of our men, vnto whom he tolde all what he had done, and in their presence named for Captaine generall, the Prince Naramuhin his brother, and next inheritor to the Crowne, & commaunded euery man to obey him, in as ample manner, as his owne person. His charge was set downe, that he should march forward with fiue thousande fiue hundred Nayres, & entrench himselfe hard by the Foord, by which waye he knew for most certaine, that the King of Calycut was determined to enter into ẏ Iland of Coching; whereas at an Ebbe, the water commeth vp but to the knees.

The kings brother made general of the field, and armie

¶ How the Prince of Calycut made offer sundrye times to enter into the Iland of Coching, by this Foord, and how he was resisted by the Prince of Coching. Chap. 53.

Now the King of Calycut hauing notice, that Naramuhin had pitched his royall Armie hard by this Foord, to resist thereby his entraunce into Coching, he was somewhat feared therewith: in especiall for that hee knew the foresaid Prince, to be one of the valiantest Gentlemen, that was accompted off in all that Prouince of Malabar, & the most fortunate in wars. Somewhat therefore for this feare, more then for anye good will that he ought to the King of Coching, to vse any kinde of courtesie towards him, he sent him this letter.

The king of Calycuts letter to ỹ king of Coching

I Haue trauailed as much as I could to excuse this war with thée, if so be that thou woldest temper thy pride, & doe ỹ which I haue requested thée, being as it is, so iust, necessary and profitable vnto vs all. And for that this our falling out might goe no further, I giue thée to vnderstande, that I am come to Repelyn with a great power for to enter thy Countrey, & there to take those Christians which are with thée, withall their Merchandize: yet notwithstanding, I will first aduertise thée, that my desire is, that thou doe sende them vnto me, which if thou wilt doe, then will I forget the enuie and hatred I haue conceiued against thée for that which is past, whereas otherwise, I haue promised to take thy Countrey from thée, & put all those that are dwellers there, to the sword.

Although now the King of Coching had very great lack of men, and did well perceiue that it might come so to passe, as the King of Calycut had written vnto him. Neuerthelesse, he neuer meant to moue his determination, but did aunswere after this manner.

The aunswere which the king of Coching made to the foresaid letter

IF thou hadst demaunded of me after a ciuill order, & with louing wordes, that which thou doest commaund with so great a pride, I would not haue iudged thée of lesse valour, then that thou thinkest I might take thée to be: For where there is wisedome or strength, there is no discurtesie shewed by meanes of ill bringing vp. These be things that God is not pleased withall: neither yet haue I so offended him, that I should consent so much to my losse, or think that the victory should not be mine and these valyant mens that are with me. Thou shalt be welcome with all thy pride, and I verely beléeue, that with these few which I haue, ouer and beside my iust quarrell, shall suffice to defend me from thée, and other mine enimies. Thou shalt neuer finde mée so weake, that I will doe anye thing with such shame as thou demaundest. And if so be, that thou hast vsed to accustome thy selfe to such deceiptes, so it is: I did neuer vse

the

the same, neither yet will I accustome my selfe so to doe. ,,
Touching the Christians, or any part of their goods, make ,,
thou no reckoning, for that I doe minde to defende the ,,
same. Therefore to bee short, sende me no more messen- ,,
gers.

With this aunswere was the King of Calycut so offended, that he sware he woulde destroye all, and reuenge himselfe vppon the King of Cochin. And therefore forthwith hee departed from Repelyn the last daye of March, and entered into the Lande of the King of Cochin, in the which he did no hurt, for that the Lordes of that soyle were all in his fauour. And on the seconde daye of Aprill, beeing come neere vnto this Foorde where Naramuhin was intrenched, some of the King of Calycuts Captaynes had great hope through the multitude of theyr men which they had with them, to giue the onset, with determination to passe the Foorde: but it was so manfullye defended, that they retired with the losse of many. The Calicutians repulsed from passing ouer the Foorde.

Wherupon the King of Calycut toke this for an ill beginning: but for all that, after that hee had pitched his Campe, he sent the next daye the Lorde of Repelyn with as manye more men as there was the daye before, and sundrye Paraos by water, supposing that then he woulde passe ouer this Foorde. But it chaunced farre otherwise, and they mist at that time of theyr purpose, for that Naramuhin as yet did valyauntlye defende the same with a stout courage.

At this present, were with him Laurenso Moreno, with other more of our men, which shewed themselues lyke valyaunt Gentlemen, as before time they hadde done in diuers other Battayles, which the aforesayde Prince Naramuhin hadde with his Enimies, in the which hee had allwayes the victorye, with the losse of many of their men. When the King of Calycut perceiued his losse, and beeing now, as hee euer was, inconstant and fearefull, hee euen repented himselfe, that euer hee did beginne these warres. Inconstancie in the king of Calycut noted.

For he thought that immediately vpon his comming to this Ford, he should haue passed the same. Wherefore he sent againe another messenger to the King of Coching, that hee forthwith should send vnto him those Christians: who answered, that since he would not deliuer them before time, when as he had occasion somwhat to feare his power, what shall he thinke he would doe now, when he hath the aduantage? But he aduertised him to looke well vnto himself, for that now he would not be contented onely with defending his Countrey, but hoped to giue him ỹ ouerthrow: which indeed had taken effect, if so be that his vntrue subiects, had not forsaken him. With this aunswere the King of Calycut remained in some feare, and indeed without any hope of victory, if so be that it had not bene for his owne souldiers, which gaue him councell to send to ouerun certaine townes of Coching, which lay hard thereabouts, he would haue left the warres. Which had the soner bene finished, if Naramuhin had not bene driuen to send to succour those Townes, with some of his men. The king thought ỹ by this meanes remaining there but with the fewer, his strength shoulde be thereby diminished.

A stout stomacke of a prince

But this pollicie was preuented by Naramuhin, who had a meruailous forecast to foresee such innouations. And for all this he furnished all places, where it was requisite, in such sort, as though himselfe had bene there present. And notwithstanding all this, the King of Calycut lost manye of his men.

How Naramuhin Prince of Coching, was slaine by treason, which the King of Calycut practised: and also how the King of Coching receiued the ouerthrowe, and was driuen to go to Vaypin for succour, and caried with him all our men. Chap. 54.

THE king of Calicut seing that his Captains could not passe through that forde to encounter with Naramuhyn, he forthwith practised how he might passe the same by some pollicie. For the which intent he secretly vsed conference with the paye maister of those Nayres which Naramuhyn had in his campe, and agreed vpon this, that there should be no paiment sent to the Campe, as before he was wont to send daily, but that they should go to Cochin to receiue the same there. And for his reward that he should consent therunto, he sent him a great present. By this meanes therefore Naramuhyn remaining alone and vnfurnished, his enimyes might passe the sayd ford the better. This being agreed vpon, the paye-maister according to his promise, sent worde to the Captaine, that all such Nayres as were in wages with the king of Cochin, should come and fetch their wages, for that hee could not send it them as before time. The Nayres hauing licence of Naramuhym, he charged them to retourne afore day, who promised him so to doe, howbeit they coulde not come, for that their paiment was delaied, till it was broad day: and thus whilest they were in Cochin, the king of Calicut entered the ford with his whole power both by lande and by sea, and with much ordinance, and the whilest that Naramuhim remained thus alone, the king of Calicuts power grew to be greater then euer it was before. Then gaue he the onset, at the which Naramuhin was driuen to retire vnto certeine Palme trees, where ioyned vnto him all his men that he had left, he cal them into one squadron, which being as they were but few, did oftentimes breake the aray of their enimies, with the which there were many slaine. But as Naramuhins power was but small, so they were compassed round about. And after that he had done manye notable acts, he was ouerthrowne, both he and two cousins of his which ther also were valiant gentlemen, with sundry others. Thus was he and all his slaine which remained in

Treason practised against the prince Naramuhim

Prince Naramuhim and his power ouerthrowne.

the field. The king of Calycut would not followe the chaſe of thoſe that ranne awaie, for that it was night, for ſo long the battaile indured. Ther were many of the enimies ſlaine alſo.

This newes being brought to the king of Coching, he was therewith a while as it were beſide himſelfe, and almoſt of euery man taken for dead, in eſpecial of our men that were preſent. Thoſe Nayres that were our mens keepers made no account of them, for that they had inough to doe to ſuccour the king. When this ouerthrow was ſpread abroade, partly for the ill will which they ought our men, they ſayde that they were the cauſe of Naramuhins death and the others, & that the king was not able to deliuer them from death. With this, the king returned to himſelfe, and began to weepe, and ſpake ſundry wordes, which our men did not vnderſtand, for that his remembrance was as it were taken from him, ſo that being hard by him, he ſawe vs not, but at length he aſked for vs, with that our men drew neere toward him, who made vs alſo to weepe, onely to ſee him in that agonie. And being fully come vnto himſelfe, he willed them in anye caſe not to feare, neither yet to doubt that this miſchance ſhould haue any ſuch power, as to make him chaunge from that which he hadde alwayes promiſed. For which wordes they would haue kiſſed his hands, but he would not conſent therevnto, and hearing the ſtirre that his men made againſt ours, he ſayd vnto them.

Comfortable vvords of a prince

The kings Oration made vnto his ſubiects about the loſſe of his kingdome.

NOw that Fortune doth ſhew her ſelfe froward againſt me, I had thought that as true friends and louing ſubiects ye wold haue trauelled to giue me herein ſome comfort. But ye are deſirous to followe and ſerue the king of Calycut, which as often as I doe remember, it doubleth my paine for the death of the Prince my brother, and my Couſins, and ſince you alſo are againſt the Chriſtians, whome I haue ſo oftentimes incommended vnto you, you doe well knowe, that it will bee much more griefe

vnto

vnto mée, that they at your handes shoulde receiue anye hurt (then I haue alreadie receiued for the death of my kinsmen, since they lyke true subiectes dyed in my defence) and you are desirous to persecute those whome I haue receiued vnder my protection, and such as remaine with mée for my comfort. It were a harde matter for me to perswade my selfe that this ouerthrowe happened vnto mée, for doing vnto these men as I ought to doe. Doe you not iudge so, for I will not beléeue that they were the cause, neither yet for that I doe fauour them, therefore God doth fauour the king of Calycut against mée. It is not so, but for that I haue offended him otherwise: I am very glad that there hath béene this occasion giuen, that I might receiue condigne punishment, and that the king of Calicut might bée the onelye executor of his iustice. And that also for all other offences that I haue done, I might bée punished by him in séeking my destruction, the rather for that I doe kéepe my promise with these Christians, in especiall béeing as wée bée, so much bounde vnto them. Therefore weie well this cause, and let it not sinke into your mindes, that for vsing clemencie to these Christians, and for defending them I receiue this punishment, neither yet that the king of Calycut hath power to ouerthrowe my power which I canne make, and destroye me altogether, although that nowe hée driueth mée out of Coching.

Ouerthrowes in warr sent of God vnto princes for their offences.

The Fléete of the Christians will not tarrye long, and then the Generall will restore vnto mée againe my kingdome. In the meane space lette vs goe to the Iland of Vaypin, which is strong, and for that the Winter is at hande, I truste in God wée shall escape the king of Calicut. And since my losse is farre more then yours, I comfort my selfe with this, requesting you to doe the lyke, & not to be an occasion to renue my troubles with this your mutinie.

They séeing the greate constancie of their king, mer-

mernailed much thereat, and immediatlye did quiet themselues and promised him that they would do that which hee had commaunded, and so they did. The constancie of ỹ king was so great, that whereas once more the king of Calycut sent him word, that if so be that he would deliuer our men vnto him, he would presently leaue the warres, yet he wold not consent thereunto, but sent him word againe, that since that he had gotten the victorie more by treason, then by valiantnesse, for if so be that valure had bene vsed, his brother and cousins had not died, but they were betraied by those that faine would kill him also. He did not passe for Cochin it selfe, but hoped that those Christians which he loked for euery day, wold restore him vnto it again, & likewise reuenge his quarrell. This answere being come to the king of Calycut, he commaunded to destroye the whole countrie with fire and sword, which commaundement being once known, the feare was so great amongst the inhabitants of Cochin that the most part of them ranne away, & with them went two Milanesis, which were Lapidaries, that remained with the Factor, which vpon the king of Portingales commaundement were brought thether by Vasco de la Gama: the one of these was called Ioan Marya, and the other Pedro Antonio. Those did discouer vnto the king of Calycut the feare that the dwellers of Cochin were in of him, & how that dayly they came awaie. They also did offer the king to make him ordinance, and afterward they made him some as it shall appeare in the sequeale of the historie. The king of Calycut made verie much of this Milanesis, & gaue them greate rewards, to the ende therby he might winne them to make him more ordinance: and hauing certein knowledge, how few people were left in Cochin, & what feare those that remained were in, and how few men the king had to defend himselfe, he put his men in a readinesse to take the same. The king of Cochin carrieng some of our men in his companie, went to mèt with the king of Calycut, where as that daie he behaued himselfe that it was wonder to see. Neuertheless for all that the enimies being verye many,

The inhabitants of Cochin flye for feare of the king of Calicut

and

and the king somewhat hurt, he was faine to retire, and for that he durst not tarrie another battaile, he therefore repaired vnto another Iland called Vaypin, which is right ouer against Coching, and is verie strong, to the which he carried with him all our men, and all the Factorie, so that there was nothing lost. The Citie being thus disinhabited, the king of Calycut commaunded the same to be sette a fire. After this he sent his men to enter the Iland of Vaypin, which for that our men and others did defend it with greate valour, and for that the Winter was at hand, and stormes of foule weather did beginne, the king of Calycut was driuen of force to giue ouer, and to leaue the warres, and so went to Grangalor, with determination to returne vpon the same Iland at the spring. For the which cause he commaunded to be made manye trenches about Coching, and left many of his men to keepe the same.

The king of Coching is faine to flye and leaue his citie.

How Vincente Sodre and Blas Sodre were cast awaie at Curia Muria, and what the other Captaines did afterward. chap. 55.

Incente Sodre with his Fleete being departed from the harbour of Coching, without hauing any respect to succour the king, or those that remained in the Factorie, but woulde needes goe towarde the kingdome of Cambaia, to take such rich ships of the Moores as come from the red sea to Calycut. Vpon the same coast he toke by the helpe of other Captains fiue ships, in the which onely in ready money there was found two hundred thousand Perdaos. The most part of the Moores wer slaine in the battaile, and their ships burnt. From thence he kept his course toward certein Ilands called Curia Muria, which stood a seabord the Cape of Quardafum, where he thought good to bring his ships a ground, which were all open.

he arriued there the twenteth of Aprill in the yere of our Lord. 1503. And although all thoſe Ilandes were greatlye inhabited by the Moores, yet he would venture a land, ỹ rather for that the dwellers in that Iland were no men of war, ſo that with the onely feare they ſtode in of our men, they gaue them good interteinment, ſelling vnto them ſuch victualls as they had, and did conuerſe in their companie.

1503

The familiaritie & ſecuritie of ỹ inhabitants of the Iland of Curia Muria.

Vincente Sodre hauing brought a Caruell a grounde, therevpon the Moores toke occaſion to tell him, that in the moneth of Maye, there came alwayes ſuch a torment or ſtorme out of the North, that no ſhips doe remaine there, but are driuen a lande. And therefore ſuch as knowe the ſame, doe immediatly auoide the daunger, willing him likewiſe ſo to doe, and to remoue himſelfe on the other ſide of the Iland, which will be a defence for them, and when the ſtorme is paſt they may returne without feare. But he not making account of their words, but rather iudging ỹ they meant to do him ſome diſpleaſure, wold not go from thence but aunſwered them that their ſhips had Ankors of wood, that they were driuen ſo a ſhore, but his were of yron: and for all that the Moores could perſwade him, he wold neuer be remoued. Yet Pedro Raphael, Hernan Rodrigues Badarſas, and Diego Pierres would not tarrie, but on the laſt day of Aprill they went their waie, and as for Vincente Sodre and his brother, they remained. And when the torment came and began to blow, their ſhips were driuen on ſhore, for all their Ankors, and were torne in peeces, in the whith there were many men ſlaine. Amongſt theſe ther died the two brethren, and of the ſhips was nothing ſaued, but onely the Captaines that remoued with the Caruell that was brought a ground. The loſſe of the two brothers was iudged to come by the handie worke of God, for their ſins, and for not fauouring the king of Cochin, & for leauing the Factour with the Factorie of the king of Portingale in ſo greate a daunger. And therefore thoſe that were ſaued returned toward Cochin to ſuccour our men, if happely they had any ſuch nede.

The effect which the torment vvrought amongeſt their ſhips in that coaſt.

A.

Amongest themselues they appointed for Captaine Generall Pedro de Tayde, and so they made saile at the entering of Maie. And for that the Winter of the Indias was come, they passed greate stormes, whereby they sawe themselues sundry times in great danger. And for that they could not fall with Coching, therfore they were driuen to winter in Anfadina. Three or foure dayes after their coming thether, there came thether also a shippe from Portingale, of the which was captaine a gentleman called Antonio del campo, who departed alone after Don Vasco dela Gama: his tarrieng was so long by reason ỹ his pilot lied, by meanes whereof he was driuen to kéep the coast, so that with great trouble & danger he arriued at Anfadina, wher he was driuen to winter, where also they susteined great necessitie for lacke of victualls.

How Francisco de Alburquerque, and Alonso de Alburquerque depadrte to the Indias, for two captaines generalls of two fleetes: and how they arriued at Coching, & did after their comming restore the king of Coching to his kingdome. chap. 56.

IN the yeare of our Lord. 1503. the king of Portingale supposing that the Admiral had left setled the Factorie quietly in Coching & Cananor, & that he should haue no such néed as to send any great fléet. Therfore he determined to send but fiue ships, imparted vnto two Captaines generalls. Of the first there he named for Captaine general a gentleman called Alonso de Alburquerque, which afterward was gouernour of ỹ Indias, as héereafter I shall declare in the third booke. These were his Captaines, one called Edwarto Pacheco, of whom I spake before, & Hernan Martines Mascarennas, who they said died in the voiage to Gordo. Of the other three he appointed for Captaine general one Francisco de Alburquerque, cousin to ỹ other Alonso Alburquerque. These following wer his Captaines, Nicholas Coello, one ỹ was in ỹ discouery of the Indias, and Pedro Vas de la Vega. 1503.

The iiii. voiage frō Portingal to the Indias.

This Fléte departed fifteene daies after Alonſo de Albuquerque, and ſo as well the one as the other, paſſed in their voyage great ſtormes, in the which was loſt Pedro vas de Lauega, Franciſco de Albuquerque, which departed laſt of all, came firſt, and before Alonſo de Albuquerque, who brought with him Nicholas Coello to Anſadina, who came thether in the month of Auguſt, where as yet he found Pedro de Taide with their Captaines, which were forced to winter ther. And hauing certeine knowledge of the warres that were publiſhed betweene the king of Calicut and the king of Coching, and all about our men, they went immediatly with all the Fléte, which was of fiue ſailes to Cananor, for that he would enforme himſelfe the better thereof, and what had paſſed in Coching. At their arriuall in Cananor our men were verye glad of their comming. The king of Cananor himſelfe reioyſed ſo much, that he went to viſite the Captaine generall a ſea bord, and told him all what perticularly had happened to the king of Coching, and where the king was.

As ſone as he knew all this, he immediatly departed toward Coching, to the which place he came on Saterdaie at night, being the ſecond day of September in the ſelfe ſame yeare. As ſone as his comming was knowne to the king of Coching, ther was great reioyſing at the ſame, not onely of the king & our men, but of all the dwellers in Coching. There were ſundrye that at his comming did ſo reioyce, that they plaied vpon ſundrie ſorts of inſtruments, in token thereof. All thoſe that were in their trenches by the king of Calycuts commaundement, viewing this great ioye and mirth, and perceiuing wherfore it was, as ſone as the night came, ranne their waie to Grangalor, for ſo the king of Calycut had commaunded them to doe, who alſo knewe of their comming by the waye of Cananor. Immediatlye on Sundaie in the morning, Franciſco de Albuquerque came to an Anker at the entering of the riuer of Coching. The king hearing of his arriuall, alſo ſent to viſite him by the Factor.

The king of Coching reioyceth at the comming of the Portingale fleete.

On

On the Munday morning, Francisco de Alburquerque hauing left his ships in good order, toke his boates, being very well armed, and went in the same vnto Vaypin, & caried with him also two Caruells to succour him, if there should come any Parao, from Calycut. As he went somewhat far off from the Caruells, came after him Edwarte Pacheco, who suspecting whereupon he went, leapt into his boat with some of his men, which came after him, with such hast, hee made with his rowing, that he ouertoke him before he came to Vaypin, where the King of Coching was tarrieng for him along the water side, with as many men as went with him to the Iland. The pleasure was so great of theyr meeting, that as sone as the King of Coching had sight of our boates, he began to crye out saieng: Portingale, Portingale, and all those that were with him did the lyke. Our men also out of their boates did aunswere after the selfe same manner, saieng: Coching, Coching, in despite of the King of Calycut. As Francisco de Albuquerque did leape aland, the King of Coching was there ready, and toke him in his armes, with the teares in his eyes, for exceeding ioye, saying: that his desire was to lyue no longer, but to see himselfe restored to Coching, that his Subiectes might well perceiue, how much he was bound to passe so great troubles as hee had past, & all for to serue the King of Portingale. In whose name, the Captaine generall gaue him great thankes, with promise to reuenge his quarrell vpon his enimies. And for his part he gaue him ten thousand crownes to spend, during the time that he did not receiue his rents, and this money was taken out of the Coffer he carried: which gift ỹ king of Coching esteemed very much, for that he was very poore. Also his subiects iudged this to be done right liberally as it was noted amongst them all: and from thencefoorth they thought all to be well bestowed, that the King had done for our men. Forthwith they carried the King to Coching, where he entered with great glorye, besides the reioycing which his subiects made: and from thencefoorth all our men, were amongst them well esteemed. Now it was not long after

The king of Coching ioyfully beholdeth the return of ỹ Portingale Fleete.

Liberalytie vvinneth the hearts of the most barbarous & vnfried ly people

after that the newes how that the King was retourned to Coching, was brought to the King of Calycuts eares, and of the money that the Captaine generall had giuen him: who ſeing that there was likelyhood of wars, ſent certain Caymales into his Countrey to defend the ſame, for that it ioyned vnto the kingdome of Coching.

How Franciſco de Alburqueique began the warre againſt all thoſe that were enimies to the king of Coching: and how the Caymall of the Ilande of Charanaypin was ſlaine. Chap. 57.

The King of Coching being put in his poſſeſſion, Franciſco de Albuerquerque toke his leaue of him: His entent was, that yet afore night he would partly reuenge himſelfe vpon his enimies. And ſo he went to the Iland which is ouer againſt Coching. Now as the inhabitants thereof were somewhat forgetful, and thought not that as that daye he woulde retourne, ſo therefore did our men ſet vppon them before they were aware, and that vpon ſuch a ſodaine, that there were ſlaine of them a great number, and ſundry of their Townes ſet a fire, and afterward they imbarked themſelues without receiuing any harme. And Franciſco de Alburquerque going toward his Flæte, met with the King, and tolde him what he had done. The nert day after, he returned to the ſame Iland, to deſtroy it altogether. He caried with him to ỹ number of fiue hundred men, for ſo many he had, with thoſe that he found in the other two ſhips, and there went with him al his Captaines: The Caymall of that Ilande was tarrieng for him along the water ſide, with two thouſand Nayres, whereof the moſt part were bow men, ỹ others had ſpeares, ſwords, and targets. They did all they coulde to kéepe our men from landing, which they did without receiuing anye hurt: and they being galled ſore with our Croſſebowes, were driuen away.

Our

Our men followed them vnto the other side of the Ilande with so stout a stomacke, that they had no other remedie but to take the water, leauing behinde them many of their companye slaine and hurte. And our men not hauing with whom to fight, did set fire to all the Townes ꝑ were in the Ilande, so that the whole Iland was destroyed. The next day following, Francisco de Alburquerque went to another Iland called Charanaipin, which was belonging to a Caymall, subiect to the king of Coching, who serued in al these warres with the king of Calycut. Concerning whom by certaine spyes that the king of Coching had in that Iland, he vnderstood that he had made himselfe in a readines, to defend himselfe against the Captaine generall, hauing redie in armes three thousand Nayres of the which were seauen hundred bow men, and fortie with shot, besides all their houses well fortified with sundry trenches round about. Also he had by Sea certeine Paraos with Ordinance in the same, which the king of Calycut had giuen him. These wer afloat in a certaine harbor, where our men pretended to disimbarke themselues: which were there placed, that they shoulde resist our comming into that place, if that it were possible. About this place there was great store of boates, all furnished with Ordinance: but the enimies at the length, were driuen to runne away, so that our men remained quietly in the harbour, where there stood in the water, yea, euen vp to their girdles a great number, alwaies forfending our landing, throwing at vs both stones, and speares, and shoting off their arrowes in great plentie. But as sone as our Ordinaunce began to go off, then they desperately began to run away and giue place. Howbeit, they being aland, did so ioyne themselues together, & that in such sort ꝑ they gaue our men inough to do to disimbarke themselues for that the same was so valiantly by them resisted.

The Caymal & his power, put to flight by the Portingales.

The great valiencye of the Moores, in resisting the yr enimies landing.

And for all that our men could doe, they would neuer leaue the felde altogether, but by a lyttle and a lyttle they retired themselues to their Palme trees for to haue amongst them succour: and there what with the hinderance that

that our men found by those trées, they defended themselues a small time. But afterward they ranne awaye, and that without order, so that our men followed them to the vttermost, in especiall the Constable of Francisco de Alburquerque, whom they call Pedro de lares, who found himselfe alone with thrée Nayres which came toward him. The one of these shot an arrow, which strake him in the breast, and for that he wore a breast plate, it did him no harme. And as the Nayre loosed off his arrow, went off lykewise his shot, and strake the Nayre in the breast, so that he ouerthrewe him, and afterward shot off another péece vpon one of the others that remained, and killed him also. By the third he himselfe was hurte in the legge with a certaine weapon, which they doe call a Gomya, and with the same hée that hurt him would haue run awaye, but at length this Pedro lares, killed him with his sword. Thus all the enimies béeing put to flight, Francisco de Alburquerque did then determine to march toward the Caymalls house, wher he had gathered together all his force, which was somewhat strong by reason of certaine trenches that he had made about the same. The Captaines were diuided on both sides of the Iland, and each of them had their men with them, and in the middes of the Iland were placed those of Coching. In this order they went all burning and spoylyng such Townes as there were, and that without any resistaunce. Going in this order, there came certaine Poraos from Calycut on that side of the Ilande which Edwarte Pacheco had the charge off, who for ẏ they were many in number did leape a land, & encounter with ẏ foresaid Edwarte Pachecho, & had giuen him the ouerthrowe, (if Francisco de Alburquerque had not bene) who came thether with those that he had in charge. And for that he found greater resistaunce in his Enimyes, then he looked for, and also being somewhat afearde least the Caymall would haue come thether to succour the rest, which if he had so done, would haue put him in daunger: he therefore commanded Nicholas Coello to take with him Antonio del campo and Pedro de Tayde, and to set vpon

the

the Caymals house, who was there slaine in defending himselfe valyantly. At that time manye more of his companye were both slaine and hurt, the house was lykewise spoyled and ransakt: of our men were hurt eighteene, and one onely slaine. In the meane while that this was a doing, Francisco de Alburquerque and Edwarto Pacheco, did put to flight those of the fleete of Calycut, many of them lieng along the water side sorely hurt and slaine, the others hadde inough to doe to imbarke themselues in their Paraos, in the which afterward they fled away. And in remembrance of so great a victory as this was, Francisco de Alburquerque made certaine knights, for that through their manhood the victory was obtained, for of three thousand Nayres the Caymall had, the least part escaped: and the Iland was all destroyed with fire and sword: and thus after this sorte was the king of Cochin well reuenged ouer his enimies.

The Caymal slaine in defending his house valyauntlye

Knights made after a valiant victorie.

¶ Of the warres which Francisco de Alburquerque began to make against the Lord of Repelyn, and how by the King of Cochings licence, a Castle was begun to be made called Manuel. Chap. 38.

All this being ended, then determined Francisco de Alburquerque to make warres against the Lord of Repelyn. And to begin the same, he departed with his other Captaines in the night toward a towne of his which is foure leagues from Cochin, whether he came the next day about eight of the clocke. To receiue him, there were placed along ye water side twelue thousand Nayres, of the which ther were fiue hundred bowmen. Our men being come within a Base shot of the land, began to shote off in such sort, that the enimies were driuen to giue place, and retire vnto their Palme trées, who being there, did tarie the comming of Francisco de Alburquerque.

querque. He being disimbarked, with the rest of his compa-
ny did giue the onset vpon the enimies, hauing Nicholas
Coello with his men in the forward, and after him marched
the rest of the Captaines. At the first meeting were some of
our men hurt with their arrowes, which they shot standing
behinde their Palme trees, which to them were a very good
bulwarke. Our men, seeing that as they were, and hauing
those trees for their defence, they could not make them to re-
moue, did them remoue themselues, and got on the one side of
them, shooting at them with their Crossebowes and Calee-
uers with the which there were some slaine, and the rest fled
away vnto their Townes, after whom our men followed so
eagerly, that there was made a great slaughter, yea, farre
greater then in the fields, for that there they were scatte-
red: here they take them altogether in their streets, where
they might the better deale with them. The Towne being
left alone, was immediately set a fire, the spoyle thereof was
giuen to those Nayres of Coching which went with him:
this reward Francisco de Albuquerque gaue vnto them,
that they should not thinke his comming into the Indias,
was to robbe any man, but rather to reuenge such iniuries,
as were shewed to the King of Coching.

The king of Coching thinketh him selfe sufficiently reuenged of his enimies.

Now at his returne with this victory, he was ioyfully
receiued at the Kings handes, who requested him, not to
trouble himselfe any further, for that he iudged himselfe to
be well reuenged. But he answered him, that although
his highnes was satisfied, yet he was not satisfied, but re-
quested him to giue him yet further license, for y he accoun-
ted it not any paines to fight in his seruice. Howbeit he see-
ing y the king was contented, did then aske him license to
build a Fort of timber, forasmuch as after that he wer gone
for Portugale, there might remaine the Kinges Factor ye
sure and without feare, and all such as should be leste
in the same. And this he declared to be the greatest seruice
he could doe to the King his Master, to consent there-
vnto.

To this request the King answered, that his desire
was

was to serue the King of Portingale, with a greater matter then that was, for that he must nedes confesse, that by his meanes, he was restored vnto his Kingdome of Coching againe. And therefore he willed him to make the same, and what els he would: and if that neede were, he would commaund it for to bee made at his owne cost and charge.

Heere the king of Coching gaue license to Francisco Alburquerque to build a Fort in Coching.

This license being graunted, with the consent of the other Captaines, it was thought good the same to be made harde by the riuer of Coching, right ouer against the Citie within the Lande, for that there it was thought most sureste, and from thence they might best resist the comming of the King of Calicut's Fleete. And for that they had neither lime, stone, sande, nor anye other necessaries thereunto, hee was driuen to make the Castle of timber, which the King commaunded to be cut in great plentie, as well Palme trées, as of other timber. He sent also many of his men for the furtherance of the worke, saieng, that he would not haue anye of our men to labour, for that as yet the troubles were sufficient that they had sustained in the warres past. But for all that, the Captaine generall wold not let, but cause them to worke.

The Captaynes were deuided with their men, and beganne their worke the fire and twentith of September, in the selfe same yeare 1503. It was a great pleasure to see, with what diligence our men did labour: insomuch, that it was sayde there, that there were no such men in the worlde againe, as ours were, for that they serued for all assayes.

¶ How the Fort of Coching was made an ende off: and how Francisco de Alburquerque and Alonso de Alburquerque returned againe vppon the Lord of Repelyn. Chap. 59.

Dure dayes after that the Forte was begun, came thether Alonſo de Alburquerq, who by meanes of the great ſtormes & other foule weather, coulde not come ſoner: notwithſtanding he brought all his men with him in healthe, of the which, Franciſco de Alburquerque was very glad, and immediately departed a peece of the Fort to be made by his men, and by this his comming, the Fort was made an ende off in a ſhort time: which being as it was, made of timber, was as ſtrong & faire as though it had bene made of lyme and ſtone. It was builded ſquare, and within the walls from the one ſide to the other, it was ſquare euery way nine fathome. The walls were made of two orders of Palme trées and other ſtrong timber, firmely ſet into the ground, and yoked together with hoopes of yron, and nayled with great nayles. Betwéne the two orders of trées, they were rampered vp with much earth & ſande, and at the ende of each of theſe Corners, wer builded bulwarks, which were replenyſhed with Ordinaunce. Alſo there was caſt about the ſame a Caue or Ditch, which allwaies was full of water. The next daye after that this Fort was ended, there was made a ſolemne Proceſſion, in the which, went the Vicar of this Forte, who carried in his hande a Crucifix vnder a Canapie, which the Captaines caried ouer him, ſounding before the ſame their Trumpets, with great ioye. With this ſolemnitie they entred into ỳ Caſtle, which the Vicar did bleſſe. And by commaundement of the Captaines, they cauſed the ſame to be called Manuel, in perpetuall memory of the king Don Manuel, vnto whom all thoſe that made the ſame were ſubiects. The Fort being bleſſed, ther was a Maſſe ſung, at ỳ which ther was alſo a Sermon made by Frier Gaſton, wherein was made mention how much they were bound to giue God great thankes, ỳ would

A deſcription and cõmendatiõ of the Forte of Coching.

permit

permit and condescend, that from so small a kingdome as that is of Portingale, and lieng on the cape of the Occident, there should goe Portingales to a land so farre of, as are the Indias, and to make there a fort amongst such a multitude of enimyes vnto the Catholike faith. And that by the clemencie of God, this should be but a beginning of many others. Also he made mention how greatly bound they wer to ỹ king of Coching, for ỹ good seruice ỹ herin he had done to the king they? soueregne: which words being brought to ỹ king of Coching, he reioyced therat very much, & gaue ỹ generals thanks for ỹ same. After all this they returned & followed their warres against all such as were enimies to the king of Coching, and beset certeine townes which wer along the coast, fiue leagues from Coching, the rather for that they were aduertised by their spies, that those Nayres that should kæpe the same, were but few in number. They carried with them for that place seauen hundred men, and departed two houres before day, notwithstanding it was nine of the clocke before they came thether, in the which townes there were more then fiue thousand soules, ouer & besides children, and such Naires as were there in garison, which were three hundred, and those all bowmen, Alonso de Alburquerque, with other of the Captaines leapt a land hard by the first towne: & Francisco de Alburquerque w̃ the others into the other towns, which were a Fawlcon shot off. In the first they toke the enimies vpon a sodeine, with the feare thereof they made them runne awaie, for that immediatly as soone as they landed, they set fire vnto them all.

They followe the vvars farther for ỹ king of Cochings reuenge.

Our men seing the enimies to runne awaie, went after them, and in ouertaking them there were many slaine of them, and after that they were wery of following them, they destroied the countrie. In the meane while the larome was raised, and for that this Iland was well inhabited, there was assembled together well nigh fiue thousande Nayres, which did set vpon our men at their imbarking, so that they were in greate daunger, in especiall Edwatto Pat-

At the alarome soũded, the force of ỹ Moores increaseth

checo, which found not his boat wher he had left the same. They followed him so narrowlye, that with their Bowes and arrowes there were of his men hurt to the number of eight, although they defended themselues valiauntly, and killed many of their enimies. But for that the enimyes were so many in number, they had beene worse handled, if so be those Captaines Generalls which were inbarked, had not disimbarked themselues and succoured them. The enymies seeing this, and hauing lost their hope to reuenge their iniuries, more then that they had done, did runne awaye, leauing behinde them the grounde well couered ouer with dead men, which fell with their bowes and hand guns in theyr handes. The enimies beeing gone after this sorte, our men did set a fire fifteene Paraos, which were a ground, and toke other seauen which were a floate, and so departed, going their way alwaies hallowing and crieng, as who shuld say, they mockt them, which thing greeued the Lord of Repelyn, whose Ilande that was, considering howe ill they found the same prouided. And they fearing least our men would returne vpon another towne, which stode a league from the same vp the riuer, he sent certeine Paires thether immediatly.

How the Captaines Generall returned to Repelyn, and afterward went to Cambalan, and what Edwarte Pacheco did in those two iourneies. Chap. 60.

THe Captaines generall hauing knowledge of these townes, & to the end ther shuld remaine nothing of the Lords of Repelyn ẏ were not destroied, they determined to folleiw their victory. And therfore ẏ selfe same night they departed, but before they would so do, they rested themselues till it was midnight, hard by ẏ castle, ẏ they might by the dawning of the day come to the town whether they minded to go. And for al ẏ it was dark, yet they departed at ẏ time, although ẏ one of them could not see the other. And Alonso de Alburquerque being loth

to

to remaine behinde, he commanded his men row a apace, & by ỹ meanes he was the firſt that came to the towne, & that a great deale before day. And being weary with ſtaieng for the reſt of his companye, he commaunded to ſet fire to the towne, with intent to burne the ſame: & for that the enimies were vnprouided for his cõming, he ſuppoſed he might therfore doe the ſame the better, and ſo he did. The enimies ſeeing the fire, aroſe forthwith to quench the ſame, which our men perceiuing, did ſet vpon them, & ſlew ſome, & the others ranne their wayes. Thus they did for that they were of a baſe kinde of people and poore, and without weapons. The Paires knowing that it was our men that had ſet ỹ fire, came thether all ſuch of them as were in gariſon within ỹ towne, which were more then two thouſand, who being together, did ſet vpon our men very deſperatly, inſomuch that Alonſo de Alburquerque with his men, was driuen to retire, for that they were no more then fortie, of ỹ which ther was one ſlaine, & of the others there were ſome hurt with their arrowes. They had all of them hardly eſcaped, if ſo be that they had not retired, which was done not without great trouble. And yet he could not haue done ſo much if the boys of the ſhips which remained in their boats, had not ſet fire to a Fawlcon, for feare of the which, as ſone as the ſame was ſhot of, the enimies aparted themſelues. By this time it was day light, at the which came thether Franciſco de Alburquerque, who whẽ he had knowledge what had paſt, commaunded to be ſhot of all the ordinance that the boats carried, which made the enimies to flie from the ſhoare. Whileſt they were thus doing, Edwarde Pacheco did determine to leape a land, ſomwhat farther of from the others, & going forth to doe ſo, he found ther many Paires wᵭ theyr weapons, which had paſt by a narrow way, to ỹ intent to ſuccour their felows. As ſone as he had ſight of thẽ, he commanded to bring his boat hard to ỹ ſtreight, where wᵭ his ordinance he did hinder and keepe that paſſage. Then immediatly came thether our men, which forthwith did leape a land, & ſetting vpõ their enimies, inforced thẽ to rũ away: and

The readineſſe and forvvardnes of Alonſo de Albur querque.

A baſe minded & cowardiſe kinde of people

and for that they knew not the countrie, they followed them not, but did ſet fire to the towne. Then Edwarto Pacheco, & Pedro de Taide did part themſelues with their men to go and burne another Towne which ſtode a little aboue the other, and in the way they met with eighténe Paraos, all armed, of the king of Calycuts, which they did put to flight, and the towne being burnt, as they before had determined, they returned to their Generalls. And for that it was ſomwhat rath for to returne, they went to the Iland of Cambalan, minding to deſtroie ẏ ſame, for that the Caimall was enimie to the king of Cochin, where they burnt a greate towne. From thence Edwarto Pacheco, with fiue Paraos of Cochin, went to burne another towne, but before they could accompliſh the ſame, they fought a good while with their enimies, of the which there were ſome ſlaine. The Towne being ſet a fire, he returned with his men, of the which were ſeauen hurt, and béing retyred, he fought with thirténe Paraos of Calicut, which he did ouercome with the helpe of Pedro de Tayde, & Antonio del campo, which came thether at that inſtant. The enimies being retired into a certeine créke, there went after them Edwarto Pacheco, and was the cauſe that one of thoſe Paraos ran a ground, and ſo he toke the ſame, and in the meane while the others went their waie. And for that our men that rowed were wearyed, they went not therefore after them, but returned vnto their Captaines generall, with whome they went to Cochin. And giuing the king an account of that which they had done, hée yelded himſelfe ſufficiently contented with reuenge of his enimies, and prayed them to giue ouer the warres.

The enimies towne ſet on fire

They returne frō purſuing theyr enimies

What the captaine Generall had done going for a Tone laden with pepper, and how Edwarto Pacheco did put to flight 34. Paraos. chap. 61.

Now

NOw by reason of these forsaid wars, there was none that durst bring one graine of Pepper to sell at the Factorie. Neither yet durst the merchants goe to seeke the same out, and for all that they were able, they could not get more then three hundred Bahares. And so they sent word to the generalls, willing them to send for it, being nine leagues of from Cochin, ỹ which they immediatly did, being accompanied with all the other Captaines of the Flote, for that they should goe for the same amongst all their enimyes. And because they would not be knowne, they departed in the night, and in their way Edwarte Pacheco did destroy an whole Island, where he with onely these of his owne companie fought with five thousand of his enimies, & the Generalls did in the meane while put to flight xxviii. Paraos. This being done, Edwarte Pacheco and Antonio del campo, went and destroied a great towne in the firme land, fighting with, & putting to flight two thousand Naires, of the which there were many slaine and hurt, and of our men not one. With this victorie they returned to their Captaines Generall, who sent immediatly for the pepper, which was but a lyttle way of, and being night, themselues did depart toward Cochin, from whence they were minded to send the Tone which carried the pepper, laden with merchandise to giue in truck of the same. And for that it might goe the surer, Edwarte Pacheco was sent with other three Captaines, who carried each of them fiftie men a peece, & of Cochin there went 500. Paraos. Edwarte Pacheco being departed, did passe the forsaid straight before it was day, & therfore he was not seene, & being broad day did passe by the mouth of a creeke, where ther were bow men without number, ỹ which shot at our men with their arrowes. And if so be ỹ our boates had not ben pauoiced or fenced with their shields a targets, our men had receiued great hurt, for that the riuer was but narow, so ỹ with their arrowes they might reach them. Edwarte Pacheco

The valiant courage of Edvvarte Pacheco

checo ſeing that they were ioyned all together, and iudging that on that ſort they might do them ſome harme, commanded immediatly one of the Captaines to kepe ẏ Tone, and he with the other two, & alſo thoſe of Cochin did determinatly come with ẏ poers of their boats a land, where there were two thouſand men of the enimies, amongſt the which he commaunded the Fawlkons to be ſhotte off, the which did ſo enter amongeſt them all, that with the ſame there were many torne in peces, ſo that it made the reſidue to retire from the water ſide, & there remained place inough for our men to diſimbarke themſelues without daunger, & ſo they did. And as the moſt part of them carried handguns, ſo they did ſet vpon them with the better ſtomacke. The enimies for all that gaue no place, but ſhot of their arrowes, which were ſo many in number, that it was thought that one met in the aire with another. The ſkirmiſh was valiantly handled of the one ſide, and of the other, which in ſuch ſort indured a quarter of an houre, yet notwithſtanding, the enimie at length did runne away, and left of their company many ſlaine, the cauſe whereof was, for that they brought no weapons to offend their enimies withall. Then our men purſued them to a village, out of the which there iſſued many Paires, which ioyning theſelues with thoſe ẏ fled away, returned vpon our men with ſuch a ſtomacke that they ran in great daunger, for that there were of the enimies wel nere fire thouſand men. A great multitude of thoſe ẏ were ther, did then as much as they could to go betweene the riuer and our men, but to reſiſt them that they ſhould not ſo doe, and to kill them all, our men defended themſelues, and repelled them with greate difficultie. And as the riuer was thus defended, ſo they ran into the ſame, in the which they ſhewed themſelues to be valiant. And when they drew nere to thoſe that were in their boates, they ſeparated themſelues into two ſeuerall places, leauing one broad way, that our men might the better imbark themſelues, ſtanding without the daunger of their Ordinaunce, with the feare of the which the enimyes did ſuffer our men

An hot & valiant ſkirmiſh.

to

to imbarke themselues, whereat there was none either slaine or hurt, which seemed to be a miracle.

¶Heere is contained the scituation of the Citie of Coulan, and how the Apostle Saint Thomas came thether, and there was martyred: and Alonso de Alburquerque went and laded there, and in what place did settle a Factorye. chap. 62.

IMmediatly after this was the king of Calicut aduertised of the losse of those Paraos, and also of all the successe that our men had in those wars, for the knowledge wherof he vsed all diligence, in respect of the great desire he had to turne vs out of the Indias, for that naturally they could not abide vs. And fearing least that we should take their countrie from them, they were so much the more desirous to hunt vs away. This thing they procured with great instance, and also were the occasion that we should haue no Pepper. Making this account, that if so be that we should goe without the same vnto Portingale, it would be the occasion, that we would not returne againe to the Indias. By this meanes therfore we were driuen to prouide for the Flete in their riuers, and that with such a number of men, that we could neuer haue aboue a 1200. quintall of Pepper, of 4000. Bahares, that the Merchants had promised, and yet this we got with great shot of Ordinaunce, and hurt of our men, and with infinit shedding of blood of the enimies.

Why the Indias wer most earnest to hunt our men out of their Countrie

In the ende, the king of Calycut found the meanes by merchants his friends to perswade with the merchants of Cochin, to giue to the Captaine general no more pepper, excusing themselues with the warres. Which thing was done in such sort, that neither with the request of the king of Cochin, neither with anye gifte that was giuen them by Francisco de Alburquerque, hee coulde moue

or perſwade them to giue them anye more Pepper. Now the hope of our men for hauing the ſame anye more in Cochin being paſt, Alonſo de Alburquerque with Pedro de Tayde, and Antonio del Campo, were driuen to ſeeke for the ſame at the citie of Coulan, which they did the ſooner, for that they knew that the gouernours of ỹ Towne were deſirous of our factorie, the which was offered to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, and the Lorde Admerall. Thoſe that thus went thether, were fully bent to make warres againſt them, if ſo be that they would not giue them lading for theyr ſhips. Alonſo de Alburquerque being departed from Cochin with certaine Captaines, came into the port of the Citie of Coulan, the which ſtandeth twelue leagues from Cochin, and from Comarin xviii. the which is beyond the ſame, bearing toward the South.

The diſcriptiō of the citie of Coulā.

This Citie (as I ſaye) before that Calycut was builded, was the principall of the Prouince of Malabar, and the greateſt and moſt principalleſt Port of all that Coaſt. Notwithſtanding, as yet their houſes be both greate and fayre, and ſo are alſo theyr Pagodes and Chappells comparable to theſe of Calycut. Their harbour or hauen is verie good, they are well prouided of all ſortes of victualls, the people are in condition lyke vnto thoſe of Calicut. The inhabitants are Malabars, Gentiles, and Moores, and the Moores are verie rich and greate merchauntes, in eſpecially ſince the warres beganne betweene Calycut and vs, for many merchauntes of Calycut lefte the ſame, and nowe dwell there. They doe trade in Coromandyll, Ceilan, in the Ilands of Maldyua, Bengala, Pegu, Camatia, and in Malaca.

The king of this countrie is Lorde of a greate Kingdome, wherin are many great Cities and rich, which haue belonging vnto them ſundrye goodlye harbours, by reaſon whereof his cuſtomes are great, and for that cauſe they are riche of Treaſure, and are able to make a greate power of men of warre, which are for the moſte parte men but of lyttle ſtature. He hath alwayes in his

gard

gard, three hundred women, which doe vse bowes, and are very perfect in the skill of shooting. They haue about their breasts certaine bands of lynnen & of silke, with the which they doe binde them so harde, that they are no hinderaunce vnto them in their shooting. This king hath for ỳ most part of his time, war with the king of Narsinga, which is a great trouble vnto him. He doth continually or for the most part remaine in a Citie, the which they doe call Calle. The Gouernours of Coulan are as it were Aldermen, in the which, there is a certaine Church, which ỳ Apostle Saint Thomas builded, comming thether to preach the Catholike faith, by reason wherof, there were great numbers that turned Christians, as well of the Gentiles, as otherwise, so that of them there are proceeded from generation to generation the number of twelue thousand householders, that are scattered abroad in the Country wher they haue their Churches. The King of Coulan seing how many were daylye conuerted, and the daunger thereof, did banish him out of his Countrey, who being thus gone, went to a Citie called Malapur, lyeng along that Coast, and is parcell of the Kingdome of Narsinga. And yet being there, for ỳ he was so followed by ỳ Gentiles and by ỳ Christians of Coulan, did apart himselfe to ỳ Mountains, wher they affirme ỳ he dyed, & from thence he was brought to be buried in Coulan, in a vaute ỳ was made in the foresaide Church. This Church is now ouergrowen, with bushes and woodes, for that the Citie is disinhabited, onely there remaineth a poore Moore, which doeth kepe the same, for that there are no Christians nere vnto it: and there he liueth vppon the almes of all these ỳ commeth thether in Pilgrimage, aswell of Christians as of the Gentiles, for ỳ Moores doth not let to giue their almes likewise vnto him, for that he was buried in their Countrey. Alonso de Alburquerque being come to the harbor of this citie, & the Gouernours hauing knowledge therof, they came to visite him a bord his ship, where within the same there was setled a peace, ỳ which was made vpon condition, that we should haue our Factory in the Citie, & also should haue

A gard of women with bowes & arrowes.

S. Thomas banished ỳ country

The conditions of the peace made with the inhabitãs of this Citie.

as much lading of spices and other commodities, as would lade presently those ships, the which immediatly they went about to prouide. In the meane while that our men were there, and whilest that the one ship toke in his lading, the other two kept abroad in the sea, to watch all such as past by from other places and those that they could discrie, were brought, some with their good wills, and others there were brought against their wills, to speake with Alonso de Alburquerque, and to shew him obedience as to a Captaine general of ỹ king of Portingales. He offered no hurt to any, but onely to the Moores of the red sea: for all such of them as he toke, he would cause their ships first to be ransacked, and afterward to be burnt, in reuenge of that they had done to Pedro Aluares Cabrall, of the which those of Coulan were greatly afraid. The house for the Factorie being finished, and the shippes laden, Alonso de Alburquerque lefte there for Factor, one Antonio de Sala, with two scriueners, the one called Rodrigo Aranso, and the other Loparabelo: and for interpretour one called Madera, and two Friers for Chaplaines, with others, the which in all were xx. And so leauing them in peace, he departed toward Cochin.

How the Captaine Generall departed for Portingale, and how he left in the Indias for Captaine Generall Edwarte Pacheco. Chap. 63.

ALL these things remaining in this order, there was sent a messenger to Francisco de Alburquerque from Cosebiquin, a Moore of Calicut, which was a greate friend of ours, as I haue before declared, signifieng that the king of Calicut was determined to set vppon Cochin, immediatly after he was gone to Portingale, and so take the same, and to fortifie it in such sorte, that

that he might defend the entering into the harbour, whatsoeuer armie should come. And for the furtheraunce of this enterprise, he had gotten the good will of all the nobilitye of Malabar, and that also for certeintie it was bruited, that the king of Cananor and the king of Coulan would secretly aide him. Ouer and besides all this, that the Merchauntes Moores did offer him great helpes toward the same. After the selfe same sorte, did Francisco Reynel write vnto him a fewe dayes after, and how that the king of Calycut was preparing of souldiers, besides that hée had commanded much ordinaunce to be made, and that the Moores of Coching were greatly in his fauour, and therfore he did aduertise him not to trust much vnto them: within two daies after the receipt of these letteres, the king of Coching wēt to visit Francisco de Alburquerque, and after the same manner told him that which he had learned of certeine Bramenes that came from Calycut, and willed him to beware & to foresée what daunger he was in to lose Coching, if so be that ther did remaine no armie of defence for that purpose. Laieng further before him, how many daungers he had bene in for the mainteinaunce of our friendship, and for that cause his owne subiects had risen against him, and that nowe they minded to doe the like. Yet notwithstanding he had such a hope in our men, and our helpe, that he desired none other succour for to defend him from his enimyes, whereof he praied him not to say him nay.

The generals cōfortable aunsvvere vnto ye king of Coching.

VNto this, Francisco de Alburquerque, aunswered him, that if so be that he did well knowe what hée hadde gotten, by such losses as hée hadde receiued, for the fauour which he had shewed vnto our men, he would receiue other greater losses if it were possible. For setting a side the great renoune and fame which he hadde gotten of a true and valiaunt Prince, hée hadde also recouered for a friende the king of Portingale, which is Lorde of such subiects as hée hath séene, who also are his to obeye and serue him in all thing, when néede should require.

And

„ And farther, that they would with small trouble make him
„ Lord of greater cities then Cochin, and that also he might
„ beleeue, that euen as they did restore him vnto his estate,
„ euen so they would conserue him in the same. And although
„ that there were made with the King of Calycut the grea-
„ test peace that could be, yet he sayde he had so small a confi-
„ dence in his dooings, that he would not leaue him without
„ an armie of ships, before that he departed from the Indias,
„ for that he did well know, how little truth that King vsed.
„ And if so be, that vntil this time he had dissembled with him,
„ it was onely to see whether by this meanes he might lade
„ his ships, for otherwise he could not do it, in especiall y time
„ being as it is so neere spent.

With this aunswere, the King was satisfied: and since that Francisco de Alburquerque could haue no more Pepper then that he had, which was but a small quantitie, hee determined to depart toward Portingale, but first he would nominate him that should remaine in the Indias for Captaine generall, that the King of Cochin should vnderstand the same. And for that he knew, that he that was appointed, would thinke it very dangerous to remaine there, with so few men as he was able to leaue him, he durst commit it to none of his Captaines. Howbeit after that he had offered the same to them all, and they were not willing to accept it, last of all he gaue the gouernment to Edwarte Pacheco, who did accept it with a great good will, more for to serue God and his king, then for any profite he knewe that hee should get in remaining in the Indias.

Edwarte Pacheco apointed Captaine generall for the Indias

And when it was once spread abroad & knowne to the king of Cochin, that Edwarte Pacheco was he that was appointed, he was well pleased therewith, for that he hadde heard before of his valour. This being concluded vpon, Francisco de Alburquerque made saile, carrieng with him all the rest of the Fleete. But first he gaue the king to vnderstand that he did carry the same no further then to Cananor, for because of the Fleete of Calycut, which might encounter with him, and so worke him some displeasure in his

port

Port, where he minded to stay (as he did) procuring the libertie of Rodrigo Reynel and the others that were there. This determination being knowen to the king of Calycut, he sent him word, that it were not requisite that hee should haue him away, but rather offered him, if so be that he would tarrie, to giue him the Pepper that he had promised to deliuer. But hearing this, he supposed that he gaue the same out, that Rodrigo Reynel with the others, should be the more desirous to remaine in the Indias. At this instaunt came in Alonso de Alburquerque which returned from Coulan, and the time being spent, he would not tarrye there any longer, but with the rest went toward Cananor. And being there arriued, there came a letter from Rodrigo Reynel, in the which he wrote vnto him, that the King of Calycut was certainly bent to set vpon Coching, immediately after that he were gone. And that all these dissimulations which he did vse in offering to giue him Pepper, was but for feare he had conceiued that he would haue burnt his ships, which were as then in his harbour. This newes the Captaine generall kept close to himselfe, that the same should not come to ỹ eares of Edwarte Pacheco, vnto whom was lefte the shippe in the which he went, and two Caruells, of the which were Captaines Pedro Raphael and Diego Pieres, besides a shippe boate.

Also they lefte him foure score and tenne men, and those whole, that were needfull, for all the rest were sicke. Also, there was left him, the most parte of the Ordinaunce, with the most parte of the munition that they were able to spare. Now being knowen to them all, of the great power that the King of Calycut had in a readinesse, they did then merualyle, that Edwarte Pacheco would accept the same, in especially, for that he remayned with so small a Fléte. Some therefore there were that gaue out and sayde, God haue mercie vpon Edwarte Pacheco, and those that doe remayne with him: supposing that in very deede, he shoulde not escape.

And although these words were spoken within his hea-

hearing, yet for all that he would not but tarrie. The Captaine Generall being diſpatched, did depart towardes Portingale, the laſt of Januarye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1504. 1504

They depart from the Indias and saile towardes Portingal

The firſt that made saile was Alonſo de Alburquerque, Franciſco de Alburquerque, and Nicholas Coello that departed afterwarde, were caſt awaye, Pedro de Taide was driuen to Quyloa, and entering vppon the Barre, his Shippe was there caſt awaye, with the moſt parte of his men, by meanes whereof hée went to Monſanbique in a Zanbuco, where afterwarde hée dyed. Hée lefte there a Letter written of all his ſucceſſe, and alſo declaring in what eſtate the Indias did remaine, which hée commaunded to bée deliuered to any Captaine that ſhould come thether from Portingale.

Alonſo de Alburquerque, and Antonio del Campo came to Liſhborne the three and twentieth of Auguſt, in the yeare aboue ſayde, and tolde the King of the eſtate of the Indias, who alſo preſented him with foure hundred weight of the greate ſéede of Pearles, which is called Alhofer or Ragges, and with 144. pounde weight of great Pearle, of greate eſtimation, and eight Dyſters, in the which the ſame do grow: and alſo a Diamond Tablet, the which was as bigge as a greate Beane, beſides many other iewells, and alſo two horſes out of Perſia, the which were great runners.

¶ How Edwarte Pacheco behaued himſelfe in Cananor, and in his courſe toward Cochin: and what elſe he paſt with the king at his arriual. chap. 64.

FRanciſco de Alburquerque being departed towardes Portingale, Edwarte Pacheco which remained for Captaine Generall in the Indias, hauing a while ſtayed

in

in Cananor to take in there his victualles, brought himselfe vnder sayle, and came to an Ankor without the point of Cananor, and from thence hée sent Pedro Raphaell to goe a long the Coast, and to cause all such Shippes as he coulde discrye to beare with the Captaine, and to reknowledge him for their Generall. At this instaunt was Diego Pieres a newe rigging of his Caruell in Coching. And all these Shippes that were brought before the Generall, gaue an account whether they were bounde, and what they carryed, and also of whence they were. And if so bee that hée founde anye Pepper, hée woulde take the same, as hée did from some other shippes that were bound to Calycut, in the which order hée vsed such rigour, that afterwarde hée was feared of all men.

Whilest hée was thus at an Ankor, there came vppon him in the night a Fléete of twentye and fiue Saile of Shippes, which vppon a sodeine made him to coniecture that they were of Calycut. And séeing himselfe in such daunger, hée commaunded to let slippe their Cabells by theyr Hallis, for that vppon such a sodeine they coulde not weye theyr Ankors with theyr Capstaines, and with the same he cut and made his course into the Sea, to bring himselfe in the winde of those Sayles, vppon whome hée commaunded to shote off all his Ordinaunce. And as they were shippes laden with Rice, so ranne they their waye as fast as they coulde. Some there were that ranne a grounde, and more hurt had bene done, had it not beene for a greate ship of the Moores that came in their company, in the which were well néere to the number of 400. Moores, that were of the kingdome of Cananor. These thinking that they might take our shippe, came sodeinly vppon them, alwaies shoting of their arrowes, and we aunswering them likewise with our Ordinaunce. This skirmish continued till it was almost day, and then they tolde what they were. After that Edwarte Pacheco had thus well beaten him with his Ordinaunce, with the which were nine of his men slaine, besides many that were hurt, they tolde what they were.

A valiant skirmish with an hot ship of the Moores.

And for that there durſt not paſſe anye Ship by for feare that they ſhuld be taken, the Captaine Generall departed towards Cochin, and in the waye he fought with certeine ſhips of the Moores, ſome he burnt, and others hee toke, beſide thoſe that were ſunke. Thus with greate victorie hee arrived at Cochin, and landed at the Caſtle, where he vnderſtoode by the Factour, that the newes of the preparation that the king of Calycut had made for the warres was moſt true, and that the king of Cochin ſtood in greate feare thereof, for that the Moores that were inhabitantes of Cochin, were againſt their king for the mainteining of theſe warres againſt the king of Calycut. The nexte day following the Captaine Generall went to viſite the king of Cochin, carrieng his boats with him well armed and fenced, with certeine paueiſes made of Boordes, and ſette with Flagges, beſides certeine Ordinaunce which they had in the ſame, with the which he ſhewed himſelfe to be verye ioyfull, the rather that the king might take occaſion to be merrie: who after that he vnderſtoode how ſmall a fleete there was left to defend his countrie withall, he could not bee but verye penſatiue, and ſayde vnto the Captaine Generall, that the Moores of Cochin hadde tolde him that hee dio not remaine in the Indias to defende him from the king of Calycuts power, but to gather together the Merchaundiſe that were in the Factorye in Cochin, and in the Factors cuſtodie, with all thoſe that were there, and ſo to carry them all to Cananor and Coulan.

What great feare y king of Cochin vvas put into by his traiterous ſubiects.

And therefore hee earneſtlye requeſted him to tell him if it were ſo or not, for hee dio thinke the ſame to be true, by reaſon that there was lefte ſo ſmall a Fleete. Which the rather alſo made him to doubt that hee would not tarrie to fight with the king of Calycuts power, but would doe as the Moores hadde tolde him, wherefore hee prayed him to aduertiſe him of the truth thereof, for that if it were ſo, hee might in time ſeeke his reuenge, although as then hee ſhould hardlye finde the ſame, ſince that he had no further helpe.

The

The Captaine Generall perceiuing the diſtruſt that the king had, was offended therewith, and aunſwered him, ſaieng.

The aunſwere vvhich the Captaine Generall made to ỹ king of Cochin.

I Doe much meruaile of thée (conſidering that thou haſt ſo great experience of the fidelitie of the Portingales) that thou doeſt aſke me whether I doe remaine for ſo traiterous an act, as this is, that in ſuch a time I ſhould do as the Moores haue told thée, & thou wilt beléeue them, knowing that they are ſo greatly our enimies. Thinking that thou vnderſtanding of this, ſhouldeſt not bring in queſtion ſuch a matter out of all reaſon. And if ſo be that Francisco de Alburquerque would haue done any ſuch thing, it had bene a great deale better that he with all his Captains had done it, and not haue left me alone to do the ſame, & to runne in daunger, and to méete on the ſeas with ſo great a fleet of the kings of Calicut, for them to ſet vpon mée only. And if it were ſo that I ſhould haue remained for to haue done ſo foule a déede, yet I would haue tolde thée thereof, that I had ſo meant to doe, for that I was afearde of the king of Calycuts power. But for that I doe take thée to be a man indued with reaſon, I did ſuppoſe that thou woulddeſt not haue thought ill thereof. For otherwiſe thoſe béeing warned thereof, it might haue bene very profitable vnto thée, to haue remained free from the enuie and mallice of the king of Calicut. Which thing if ſo be that the Moores had conſidered of, they would not haue tolde thée ſo great a fable. Beléeue me, if they could haue done thée a greater iniurie, they would haue done it, for the good will thou doeſt beare vnto vs. This I doe knowe very well, but let not that trouble thée. For although thou doeſt loſe them, and all the reſt of thy ſubiectes, yet thou doeſt recouer me, and as many Portingales as héere remaine, who all will die in thy ſeruice if it were néede, for that is the onely cauſe wée did remaine in the Indias, and in eſpecially: for there was no man that bound me thereunto, if ſo be ỹ I wold not, but only the fidelitye & truth which thou haſt alwaies vſed to-

„ wards our men vntill ſuch time as thou diddeſt loſe co-
„ ching, and diddeſt ſée the ſame burnt. For the which cauſe
„ thou oughteſt to eſtéeme the better of thy ſelfe, for thereby
„ thou haſt exalted thy fame through all the Countrie, and
„ therefore thy name will remaine for euer, which is the grea-
„ teſt treaſure that kings canne leaue behinde them, and the
„ onely thing that all men doe ſéeke for. And beléeue me, when
„ the king of Calycut did firſt ſet fire to Coching, the ſame
„ was his deſtruction, which was afterwarde well reuen-
„ ged vppon thine enimies by the Portingales, ſo thou ſhalt
„ now bée as well defended by them. And although thou do-
„ eſt thinke vs to bée fewe and a ſmall fléete, yet I doe pro-
„ miſe thée, that very ſhortly we will ſéeme to bée verye ma-
„ ny by our valyantneſſe. And I hope in God that we ſhall
A fewe va liant men are better thē many more naked and cowardly
ſo defend whatſoeuer ſtraight or paſſage the king of Caly-
cut ſhall enter into, where aſſuredly we will tarry and not
remoue our ſelues from thence, neither night nor daye, and
for the paſſages that are ſtraight, our armie is inough, and
therefore it ſkilleth not, there remaine no more for the ri-
uers, for that theſe are ſufficient. And ſince that they choſe
„ me to remaine, beléeue certeinly that they did well knowe
„ they left him that ſhal excuſe thée of thy trauaile, and of the
„ wearieng of thy men. And therefore be thou merrie and re-
„ ſolue thy ſelfe (that by Gods grace) it ſhall not happen now
„ vnto thée as héeretofore it dide, when thou diddeſt loſe
„ Coching: for I and theſe that doe remaine with me ſhall
„ take vppon vs the whole charge and daunger of the
warres.

How the Moores of Coching prepared to go from thence: and how the captaine-Generall ſtayde certeine of them that they ſhould not departe, and what more he did. chap. 65.

The

The king being with this, somwhat eased & recomforted, touching that the Moores had told him, the Captaine general went to see the streights, & to fortifie them, which had great nede thereof. But they all were wel furnished, sauing onely the wood, which he commanded to be fortified with stakes, that ther might enter no vessells of the enimies. In the meane time he was aduertised by a Letter from Rodrigo Reynel, that a principall Moore of Coching, and beside diuerse others, did procure all that they could to leaue the citie, that ỹ king might remaine alone, & that therupon this Moore hath come twice to speake with the king of Calycut in his owne behalfe, and in the name of the others. This newes troubled the Captaine Generall a while, howbeit to disappoint them of their suttle dealing, and that the same shoulde take no effect, hee thought it necessaris to execute this principall Moore, that the others might conceiue some feare thereof. This beeing knowne to the king of Coching, he woulde not consent therevnto, thinking that if so be that he were executed, the others would make a mutenie immediatly, and then there shuld be no victualls brought into the citie, for that those did prouide the citie therewith in trucke of their merchandise, and therefore he thought best to dissemble with them all. The Captaine Generall seeing that the king woulde not consent therevnto, tolde him that he woulde talke with the Moores himselfe, and that he had thought to vse some policie that none of them should depart out of the citie. But first he commaunded all his owne men to obeye him in all such occasions as should be nedfull or requisite, which commandement the king also gaue out amongst his subiect: this being done, the Captaine general went with forty of his men to Coching, to the house of this principall Moore called Belinamacar, who dwelt hard by the riuer side, requesting him to send for certeine Moores which he did name, for ỹ he wold consult with them vpon a certeine matter which did concerne them all.

To whom the Moores came immediatly, for that they wer afeard of him, and when hée ſawe them all, he ſaide vnto them.

The generals Oration to the Mores cõcerning his abode in the the Indias.

I Did ſend for you all, honeſt Merchants, that you ſhoulde vnderſtand, wherfore and for what cauſe I remained in this Indias, for that it is poſſible that all you do not know. Some there be that doe report that I do remaine to gather together the Factorie, and ſo to carrie the ſame to Coulan, and to Cannor: but that you may vnderſtand it is not ſo, I will therefore tell you the truth. I doe remaine for no
» other purpoſe but onely to kéepe Coching, and if ſo be that
» it were néedfull or requiſite, to die my ſelfe, and all thoſe
» that doe remaine with me, in your defence, in preſeruing
» you from the king of Calycut. And this ſhall be manifeſt
» vnto him, if ſo bée that he doe come, for I promiſe you all,
» that I will mét with him in the way of Cambalan, where
» as it is tolde me he will enter, and if ſo be there he dare
» fight with me, I will not doubt but to take him priſoner,
» and carrie him with me into Portingale. Wherefore vntill
» ſuch time, as you doe not ſée any thing to the contrarie, I
» earneſtly requeſt you that you doe not goe from Coching,
» for that I heare that you are minded to goe from thence, &
» that you doe allure the reſidue of the inhabitants with you,
» for as you are the chiefeſt and principalls, ſo all the common
» ſort of people doth follow you. Now I meruaile much ỹ be-
» ing men of ſo great wiſdome as you are, you will leaue your
» houſes in the which you were borne, & the country where-
» in you haue dwelt ſo many yeres, not for feare of any thing
» that you haue ſéene, but onely of that which you heare,
» which thing for women to doe were verye ill, much more
for you that are men. But if ſo be that you would go, when
you ſhall ſéene in daunger, or elſe runne awaie, I woulde
not blame you, but to goe awaye before you haue ſéene
any of theſe daungers, or anye battaile fought, I account
the ſame, either cowardiſe, or elſe mallice. You doe well
know, that in a manner yeſterday, how few Portingales did

How fewe Portingals haue vanquiſhed thouſãds of therr enimies.

giue

giue the ouerthrowe to thousands of our enimies, which ,,
now also come to seeke vs out. And if so be that you will ,,
alleadge, that we were more in number then we are now, ,,
indede it is so, for then we fought in open fielde, where it ,,
was necessarie there should be many: and nowe in a nar- ,,
rowe waye, where a fewe shall doe as much as though ,,
were many more. And since that I can fight, as you haue ,,
well heard of the same, for that I haue bene he that haue ,,
done most hurt to our enimies (as the king of Coching is ,,
a good witnesse thereof) I neuer meane to yeelde, who shall ,,
lose more then you all, if I be ouercome. Haue ye therfore ,,
a sure hope in me, and in those that remaine with me, ,,
and tarrie vntill such time you may see the successe of all ,,
things that we doe looke for, and since that your king doth ,,
tarrie, why will ye goe your waie? Remember that I and ,,
the others that doe remaine with me, doe soiourne in the ,,
Indias so farre from our Countrie, to defend the king of ,,
Coching, and you that are his subiects and naturally borne ,,
in the Countrie. Will you then forsake him and your coun- ,,
trie? It were great shame for women so to doe, much more ,,
for honest men as you are. I doe desire you that you do not ,,
dishonour your selues, nor yet doe to me so great an iniu- ,,
rie, in hauing no confidence that I will defend you: for I ,,
doe giue vnto you all my word, that I will defend you frō ,,
a greater power then any the king of Calycut came make. ,,
For therefore and for this cause was I chosen, and those ,,
that did appoint me to remaine in the Indias, did know of ,,
the warres that the king of Calycut intended, and what ,,
power he had, in respect whereof I doe once againe request ,,
you, to beleeue that the king of Calycut shall neuer set his ,, An hard
foot in Coching. Wherefore I desire you that none of ,, thretning
you doe remoue, for whosoeuer doth otherwise shall well ,, but poly-
vnderstand, that if so be I may take him I will hang him, ,, tike and
and so I sweare by my lawe. And moreouer I giue you to ,, necessary.
vnderstande, that none of you all shall escape, for heere in ,,
this port I doe minde to tarrie, watching both day & night. ,,
Now therfore let euery one of you looke to that which shall ,,

Vm. be-

„ behoue him, and if ſo be you doe performe that which I
„ haue requeſted you, doe you then aſſure your ſelues to haue
„ me for your friend, and if not, for your mortall enimie, and
„ more cruell then you would wiſh me to bée to the king of
„ Calycut. And therfore each of you, ſpeak plainly your mind
„ what you will doe herein.

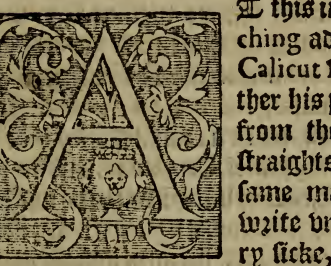
This béeing ſpoken, it gaue him occaſion to encreaſe his choler, that without any conſideration thereof, hée did ſpeak ſo lowde, that the Moores with the ſame did double their feare, that they had conceiued of him, fearing indéede that immediatly he would haue hanged them all. Wherfore preſently they began to excuſe themſelues, touching that hée charged them with all, but he woulde not tarrie the hearing of the ſame, to the intent to put them in greater feare, but ſent immediatly for his Ship, cauſing it to be brought to an Anker, hard ouer againſt Coching, beſides one of the Caruells, and two of the boates, which he appointed forthwith to bée ſet in ſuch order, that there coulde none goe out of Coching by water, but muſt néedes bée ſéne.

He had alſo many Paraos, which he hadde cauſed to bée newly rigged, with the which in the night, he watched in the riuers, which runne round about the citie. Alſo at Sunſetting he would take all the boats that could carry men or ſtuffe, and commaund the ſame to be brought a borde his ſhip, and to kéepe the watch, and in the morning he returned them to their owners. With this diligence they of Coching were ſo feared, that there was none ẏ durſt go forth without his liſence, & by meanes of thoſe extremities vſed, the Moores and Gentiles were quiet, yet for all theſe troubles that the Captaine Generall had, the moſt part of the night he would venture a land into Repelyn, in the which he burnt townes, killed men, and toke greate ſtore of Cattell and Paraos, and alſo did them ſundrie other iniuries, at the which the Moores of Coching much meruailed, namely, how he could ſuffer ſo great trauaile, and therfore they gaue out, that he was the diuell.

they cal ẏ Captaine Generall a Diuell.

How

How the Captaine Generall made an entrie into Repelyn, and also how he departed towardes the straights of Cambalan, there to tarrie the king of Calicuts comming. Chap. 66.



T this instant was the king of Coching aduertised that the king of Calicut was come to Repelin, to gather his power together, and so to go from thence to Coching by the straights of Cambalan. After ỹ selfe same manner did Rodrigo Reinel, write vnto him, who lay as then very sicke, and afterward dyed, which the king of Calycut hearing, commaunded to be taken all that he had. This being knowne to the Moores of Coching that the king of Calycut was in Repelyn, they wold haue giuen occasion to the townes men to haue runne away, but there was none that durst venture to doe it, for feare of the Captaine Generall. Who after that he knew for certeintye of his beeing in Repelyn, and that all men might vnderstand how little he did esteeme the king of Calycut and his power, and armie of ships, did one night set vpon a towne of the countrie of Repelyn, at such houres when all were a sleepe, and did set fire to the same. And after that it was well kindled, our men were knowne, and immediatly there came many Naires, as wel of the towne, as also from other places thereabouts adioyning. The Captaine Generall was forced to retire, & that with great daunger, vnto his boats, with fiue of his men hurt, and of his enimies there were many slaine and hurt, & yet for all that, those enimies that remained aliue, followed him a good while. And as our men returned toward Coching, there were shot by them so many arrowes which fell vpon their boates, that their targets were all couered with the same.

The captaine generall & his men inforced to retire vnto theyr boates.

This being knowne to the king of Coching, that he was come to the Castle, he went to visit him, for that he accoun-

ted that enterprise for a great matter, in especially the king of Calycut beeing there present, who had in a readinesse so greate and mightie a power, and so he saide. At the which the Captaine Generall laughed, and therewithall he tolde him that he woulde desire no more but that the king of Calicut would once come, for that he woulde fight with him a battaile, and then woulde be apparaunt the valiantnesse of his men. They of Coching beeing now all quiet, as also the Captaine general hauing made vnto the principals an Oration, he prepared his men in a readinesse for that he minded to depart to the straights of Cambalan. And in the meane while he left in the shippe xxv. men with the master, which was called Diego Perrera, whom he lefte for Captaine in his absence, and also as well furnished with Ordinance and shot, that they might defend themselues the better. The names of those that tarried with him I do omit, as also those that remained in the Castle. Those that the Captaine Generall carried with him, were to the number of xviiii. men: and in one of the boats he appointed for Captaine, him that went for Captaine in the Caruell Santa Maria, whiles she was a rigging, with xvii. men. The captaine Generall went in another boate, in the which with himselfe there were one and twentie men. Amongst them all their number was lxviii. men, who all both those that were in the Caruell, and those that were in the boats, beeing all confessed, and hauing receiued the Sacrament, the Captaine Generall departed to the straights of Cambalan, on the Fryday before Palmes Sunday, being the xvi. of Aprill, 1504. Thus departing with great pleasure, and with shoting of their Ordinaunce, leaping, and daunsing, when they came ouer against coching, the Generall landed to talke with the king, which was tarrieng for his cōming by the water side, so heauie and so sadde, that he coulde not hide the same. The Captaine Generall making as though he vnderstood nothing of it, said vnto him: that there they were all ready with great pleasure and good will, to depart toward the passage, to defend him from the king of Calicut,

1504

These words the Captaine Generall speake vnto ỳ king at his departure towards the passage.

licut, whom they went to seke out, that he shoulde vnderstand that they had no feare of him. The king smiled at these wordes, as it were suspecting his good successe. Notwithstanding, he appointed him 500. Nayres (of fiue thousande which he had in armes) of the which he named for Captaines, Gandagora, and Frangera, which were ouerseers of his householde, and Caymal de Palurta, to whome hee gaue commaundement that they should obey the Captaine generall as his owne person. This beeing done, the king stode and viewed all our Fleete, who at that time shewed himselfe to be very beaute, to se how few we were in comparison of the great power of the king of Calicut, and vppon the same toke occasion to speake vnto the Captaine Generall, saieng.

the wvords of ỹ king of Coching to the captaine generall.

There was represent vnto him the great danger which he feared might happen vnto him, and that which chanced to himselfe this last yeare. And therefore doe I desire thee, quoth he, to encourage thy selfe to doe that which thou art able, and not to suffer thy heart to deceiue thee, but to remember how much the king of Portingale shall lose in losing thee: and with those wordes his eyes stode full of water, which to se, the Captaine Generall was very sorie, and sayd vnto him.

The annswvere the captaine generall made to ỹ king of Coching.

That better are a few and valiant, then a great multitude and cowards. And whether (sayd hee) our men be valiaunt or not, your selfe haue well seene, & also how contrarywise it fareth with the enimies, your selfe likewise haue had experience. He inferred also howe in that place where hee minded to tarrie for his comming, there néeded but a fewe to defend him. And therfore he praied him for to be content, and therewith he departed, and came to the passage of Cambalan, two houres before day, where finding no signe of the comming of the king of Calycut, he went in the meane while, and did set vpon a towne of the selfe same Ilande of the Caimalls, where in the dawning of the day he arriued in the Harbour, a long the which there was appointed, 800. Nayres to kéep the same, which were Archers, and

a few with their Caleeuers, which were there tarying for him. And although thoſe with their calyuers, and the reſidue with their arrowes, ſhot of at our men, in ſuch maner that they ſeemed to ſhadow the Element, yet with the pauices of our boates, the which were made of boards of two fingers thicke, much like vnto Targets or ſhields, we did ſo defend them of, that they wer driuen to row toward the land, which was done for that thoſe ẏ wer there ſhuld geue place, ẏ our men might leap a land. Then ẏ Captaine generall cõmanded his ordinance to be ſhot of, with ẏ which they lept a land: howbeit, ẏ enemies returned vpon them, & therin ſhewed thẽſelues to be baliãt, for ẏ ſpace of an houre. But afterward they fled apace, & many of thẽ in the conflict, at ẏ preſẽt wer both ſlain and hurt at our mens hands. But after that our men had ſet fire to the towne, and the ſame was well kindled, the captaine generall did retire, & going toward the paſſage, in their way they toke and killed much cattell which they carryed with them: and although the people of the countrey did defend themſelues very wel, yet our men being come to the paſſage of Cambalan, the Caymall ſent to make peace with the captaine generall, with a certaine preſent, which he would not receiue, neither yet make peace with him, for that he was an enemie vnto the king of Coching. Whereupon the next day after, the king of Calycut ſent him word that he would geue him the battell, and alſo that he was greatly offended that he had placed himſelfe where he did minde to enter. And moreouer, it was tolde him that they did all affirme, that the kinge of Calycut was like to geue him the ouerthrowe and to take him priſoner, or els to kill him in the battell.

Heere the battell vvas offered by the king of Calicut vnto the captaine Generall.

To the which the captaine generall anſwered, that the ſelfe ſame hope he had to doe by the king, the rather in honour of the daye, which was a ſolemne feaſt amongeſt the Chriſtians, adding moreouer ẏ his wytchys had diſappointed & deceyued him much, to promiſe him the victory in ſuch a day. Then a certaine Nayre which came with this Meſſenger, hearing the Captaine generall ſay ſo, anſwered

him

him, and that with a smiling countenaunce, as though he had mocked him, that there were very few men to doe ỹ which he spake of: & also ỹ the king of Calicuts men were so many, ỹ they were sufficient to couer the whole earth & the water. Which if it be so, how (said he) can they be ouercome. With this answere ỹ Captaine generall was greatly offended, & for that he was thought to be one of the king of Calicuts Nayres, he bort him well, willing him to bid the kinge of Calicut reuenge the same. With the which the others that came with the message, were so greatly afraid, that they neuer durst afterward auouch the king of Calicut.

That same euening the King of Cochin sent to ayde the Captaine Generall with fiue hundred Nayres, of the which he made no account, nor of the others before, for that he knew they would all run away. In our men, next vnder God, hee had his confidence and whole truste, who all that night made greate feaste, that the kinge of Calicut might vnderstande that they did not feare him, but rather shewed great forwardnes to geue him ỹ battell, of the which ỹ Captaine general was very glad. And therfore before it was day, he spake vnto al his men in this manner. Maisters and my friends, for the great content that I doe finde in you, I doe for most certain prognosticate the great gift ỹ God in his seruice wil geue vnto vs this day. And I doe beleue for most certaine, that as God hath geuē vs stomacke (being so few as we are) to dare tary & abide so many thousands of men as there are of our enemies: so he will geue vs force and strength to resist them, & herein wil shew his great power, & as it were a miracle so greate as this is, in ỹ exalting of his holy faith: and in his holye name I do desire you, that you wil so beleue, for ỹ without this hope, although we were as many as the enemies are, and they as few as wee bee, yet all our strength were nothing, and being in this hope, all the multitude of the enemies will seeme vnto vs but few to ouer come: for they doe iudge vs to be many more then wee are, their feare is such. And this also you may beleeue, that if their com-

The captaine generals words spoken vnto his mē.

„ comming as at this day with their great preſumption bée,
„ for that they are many, hauing moſt aſſured hope to take vs,
„ yet they will haue a feare from hence forth, ſo that their
„ ſpirits will be broken, to ſet vpon vs any more, which thing
„ if they did, it would be more for feare of the king of Caly-
„ cut, then for any good zeale they haue vnto him. And there-
„ fore I pray you remember, that with this confidence you
„ muſt fight, and God ſhall giue you the victorie, and that
„ with honour of all the Portingales, and a perpetuall fame
„ amongeſt the ſtraungers, and deſerts before our king, that
„ he may reward you for the ſame, wherby you ſhall the bet-
„ ter mainteine your ſelues all the dayes of your life.

Vnto theſe words they all aunſwered, that in the battell he ſhoulde well ſée how well they did remember his ſpeach. And immedialy they fell vpon their knées and ſung the Salue regina in tune, & afterward an Aue Maria with a lowde voice. At this preſent came Larenco Moreno from the Caſtle, who brought with him foure of his Caléeuer men, for they would néds exerciſe themſelues in this battell. The Captaine Generall was very glad of their comming, for that they were very valiant.

How the king of Calycut gaue battaile vnto the Captaine Generall in the ſtraights of Cambalan, and how he had the ouerthrow. chap. 67.

THis night by the perſwaſion of the Italian runagates, the king of Calycut commaunded to be made a plat-forme or ſkonce, on the which there might be placed fiue péeces of Ordinaunce, the which might ſtand right ouer againſt wher the Captaine Generall was, that from thence they might ſhote off their ordinaunce, at what time they meant to giue the onſet, and for that the ſtraightneſſe of the paſſage was a daunger vnto him. So on Palmes ſunday the king of Calycut marched forward, with xlvii. thouſand men, the which were

as

as wel of the Nairs as of the Moores: besides that he went accompanied with the king & Caimalls, which were come vnto him, to aide and succour him, not onelye with their owne persons, but also with their men. That is to say, the king of Tanor with foure thousand Nayres: the king of Bybur, and of Curran, which is hard by the Mountaines of Narsinga, with twelue thousand Nayres: the king of Cotogatago, which standeth betweene Cananor and Calicut, hard by the Mountaines, with eighténe thousand Naires: The king of Curia, which is betweene Panane and Grangalor, with three thousand Naires: Also Nabeadarin, which was Prince of Calycut and Namboa his brother, and the king of Calycut himselfe, who had a great number, which for that they were many, I doe not rehearse. The sortes of instruments that they had for the wars were so many and diuerse, that when they began to play vpon the same, it was thought that heauen and earth would ioyne together. Diuers & besides the great multitude of the people, the which did couer the whole earth. Those that went in the vangard, as sone as they came to their setling, did giue fire to their ordinance, which as they lay nére to the Caruel, so it appered partly a miracle, that there was no péece that did hurt it, Howbeit our Ordinance béing shot off, did all light full amongst the enimies, and killed many of them, although it was before day, the which vntill Sunne did rise, were in discharging out of the Caruell, aboue xxx. péeces.

The kings and Caimals that assist the king of Calicut against the Portingales.

After all this, the whole Fléte of the enimies beganne to come out of the riuers of Repelyn, which were 169. Foystes, that is to say, three score and fire Paraos, the which hadde their defence of sackes of Cotten, which deuise was giuen them by the Italians, that our Ordinaunce shoulde not hurt their men.

Each of their boates or Poraos had two péeces of Ordinaunce in them, and fiue and twentie men, of the which there were fiue in euery Parao that had their Caléeuers, and all the rest were bow men.

Also there were twentie of these Foysts, all cheined to-

gether, for to ſet vpon the Caruell. Alſo there were liii. Catures, beſide thirtie greate Barks, each of theſe hadde his peece of Ordinaunce, and ſixténe men, which ſerued in him with ſundry kindes of weapons.

Beſides all theſe armed veſſells, there went other furniſhed with men, which béing all together, it ſéemed that the whole riuer was couered ouer, in the which Fléet were well néere x. thouſand men, and of this fléete was Admerall Nabeadarin, and for Vice Admerall the Lorde of Repelyo. Certeinly to ſée them altogether vpon the water and lande, was a greate terrour, all of them béeing halfe naked, ſome of coulour blacke, and others of a darke Tawnye. And vppon their weapons the Sunne did ſo gliſter, that they appeared as though they had béene ſwordes, and newly ground, and ſo lykewiſe did their targets, the which were of ſundrie coulours, and ſhewed very gallant. And for that our men ſhould ſtand in the more feare of them, they gaue out greate cries and laroms. After this they beganne to ſound vppon their inſtrumentes of warre, which noyſe contynued alwayes, nowe after one ſorte, and then after another.

Our men bearing amongſt ſuch a multitude, and béeing in their Caruell and their boates, coulde ſcarcelye bée diſcerned, for with the Fléete, they occupyed almoſt all the paſſage, by meanes of ropes they gaue the one the other, which ropes were wounde about with cheynes, that they ſhould not cut them a ſunder. And after that they hadde done this, commaundement was giuen, to giue fire to the Ordinaunce, with the which the enimyes were receiued.

The Naires of Coching do all run avvay

At this inſtaunt thoſe Nayres that were of Coching did all runne awaye, onely Grandagora and Frangora remained for that they were in the Caruell: otherwiſe they woulde haue gone as the others did, which had bene no matter, but that they ſhould ſée how valiantly our men defended themſelues in the battell, into the which they went in a great heate.

The

The Ordinaunce went off so often, and likewise the small shot, that there was none that coulde see one another, for the smoake of the same. The Caruell and the Boates did so flame in fire, and did so cruelly handle the enimyes at the first entering, that there were torne in peces some of their Paraos, and manye of their men slaine and hurt, without any of ours hurt, or standing in any daunger therof at all. By this time, the enimyes were come, within the throwe of a Dart. Howbeit, as they were many, and that without order, the one did hurt and hinder the other, so that they could not fight. Yet notwithstanding, the xvb paraos that went before, did trouble our men verye much with their Ordinaunce which they had, for that they went cheined together.

Our men being wearied and hurt, and the battaile having endured a good while, the Captaine Generall commaunded a Saker to bee shotte at them, the which till that time had not beene shot at the enimies. And after that the same was twice discharged, they all fledde, and for that they laye very thicke together, it did immediatlye sinke foure of them, and with that they were all ouercome, and so they ran their waye. The residue of the paraos which did continue in the battaile, were eightéene sunke, and thirteene fledde alwaye, the residue gaue place, in the which there were of the enimyes greate numbers slaine and hurt.

The enimies vttetly discomfited, doe run their vvaye.

After all this came the Vize Admerall called the Lord of Repelyn, with another squadron, and gaue a proud onset, so did the king of Calycut giue the lyke vpon the land. This battaile was farre more vehement then the first, in the which were manye more of the enimyes slaine, then before, as appeared by the water which was of the colour of bloud. Yet for all this, the Lorde of Repelyn made lowde outcryes, commaunding them to laye the Caruell aboorde, but for all that they durst not venture to doe it, but rather were desirous to goe their waye, as they also that were a land did the like.

It was now at this preſent paſt Euenſong, from the time the battell did firſt beginne, in the which were of the enymies ſlaine, not onely by land, but alſo by water. 350. men, which were knowne, beſides others, the which were aboue a thouſand: and of our men there were ſome hurt, but none ſlaine. And although theyr pellets were made of caſt yron, yet they did no more hurt, then a ſtone beeing throwne. Howbeit, our defences were all torne in peeces, and one of our boates alſo, neuertheleſſe, not in ſuch ſorte, but that it might bee new rigged before that it was night.

How the king of Calicut ſeeing the ill ſucceſſe that hee had in the warres, did enter into councell to leaue the ſame. Chap. 68.

Thoſe kings and noble men which came to ſuccour and aide the king of Calicut, perceiuing that he was thus ouerthrowne, and that with great loſſe both of his men & veſſells, although his power were great, and ours but very ſmal, & that the captain Generall neuer made any reckoning of the king of Calicut nor of his force, but for al that did ouerrun the Countrie, & deſtroyed it, ſome there were of them that made a greate wonder thereat, & ſayd that our God did fight for vs, wherupon they loſt all the hope they had for euer to giue vs the ouerthrowe, and from thence forth they had themſelues in no reputation, but rather were very ſorie that it was their euill hap to come in the aide of the king of Calycut. Thoſe that did moſt repent themſelues of their comming, wer ſubiects to the king of Cochim, for that their countries were ſcituated along the riuers, which did put them in the more feare of the Captaine Generall, that he wold ſet fire to their townes & houſes, or otherwiſe deſtroie them. And for that cauſe, they determined to leaue the king of Calycut, & wold make no more wars againſt our men, more the that which was paſt alreadie.

And vpon this condition, they returned to the king of Coching, with whom they reconcyled themselues, and those that did thus were, one called Marugata, Muta Cayma!, and his brother, and Cousins, who immediatly after the battaile, did so secretly depart from the kinge of Calicuts Campe, from whence they went to the Iland of Vaypin, to stay there, till they might see their time, as I haue sayd. But when the king of Calicut had knowledge that they were gone, and also vnderstoode where they were become, he was very sory therefore, which also was the occasion that he renewed all his griefe, that hee had conceyued for his ouerthrow, which he had receyued at our mens hands, that were so few. Wherupon he tooke occasion to rebuke his captaines, saying, that they were good for nothing, and that through their defaulte our men continued and kept these passages. And if so be, that they had had any shame, they would or this time haue driuen them from thence, in especially hauing geuen so often the enterprise to passe the same. Then those two Italians that were presente, did replie vnto the king, that although our men had done most valiantly, yet that which they did was like vnto the deedes of desperate men. Notwithstanding, that they were not able to defende themselues long, from such a power as his was, in especially, not hoping to haue any succour. And therefore they willed him to set vpon them often times, for by that meanes it was possible to take them. Some also of those kinges and noble men that came to succoure the king, and that were desirous of warres, did confirme that which the Italians had saide before, addinge moreouer, that God doth permitte his enemies sometime to haue the victorie, for a more greater losse vnto them, and therefore it were good saide they, that he followed his friends counsell, and prooued their stedfastnesse. And although it were so, that he had not the victorie immediatlye, yet hee should not therefore dispaire. The king finding himselfe somewhat vered in minde with those wordes, aunswered them saying, Although that eche of you is so valiant, that

The king of Calicut much blameth his captaines for being ouerthrowne by so few

the kings aunſwere vnto this aduice.

it appeareth vnto you, a ſmall matter to ouercome thoſe Chriſtians, yet I am not ſo obſtinate to thinke the ſame. Howbeit I ſuppoſe yet, that you doe ſee in me no ſuch a
„ feare, that thereby you might iudge it needefull, to ſtrengthen me with thoſe wordes. For what can you tell me in
„ this caſe, that you may ſatiſfie me withall? For if ſo bee,
„ that you will conſider as much as I doe, you would ſome
„ know, how great an acte this is, that you doe make ſo lit-
„ tle accompt off. I doe not take it in vs for ſo great a victo-
„ rie in ouercomming theſe Chriſtians, but rather in them,
„ in defending themſelues from vs, as they haue done. Wher
No doubt but God doeth fight for his ſeruants in it hath well appeared, that their God did fight for them.

And will you ſee how it is ſo? You maye well conſider, that our men are many, and that they haue bene valyant in the warres paſt, it hath well appeared in many and great battailes, wherein I haue ouercome mine ene-
„ mies, as you do all well know. But ſince they haue fought
„ with theſe Chriſtians, they ſeeme to be (not as they were)
„ nor durſt giue the onſet vpon them, for the feare they haue
„ conceiued. And certainly, as farre as I can learne, and al-
„ ſo all thoſe that are of a good iudgement, we ought to be-
„ leeue, that thoſe workes are rather of God, then of man.
„ For who is he that would not be afeard of them, wel per-
„ ceiuing that all others are? I meane not onely the King
„ of Cochings ſubiects which came to ſuccour vs, who haue
„ repented themſelues thereof, but alſo manye other of our
„ friends, which in the beginning of theſe wars did alſo aide
„ vs.

„ And farther, I am enformed by ſome, that they haue
„ now offered their friendſhip vnto the King of Coching.
„ Which thing, if it be true, it is for that they haue loſt the
„ hope they had of any victory on our part, as well for that
„ which is paſt, as alſo reputing how lyttle time there is
„ now lefte of the Summer, and alſo for that in the Win-
„ ter they cannot remayne anye time to continue in the
„ Fields, becauſe of the great ſtormes and raine, which
„ would then be.

And

And in the ende of the winter, then will there come the Fléete from Portingale, which will doe vs as much harme as the fléete did the last yere, and so I shall neuer bée out of vnfortunate mischiefes, but thus in the end I shall be vterly destroyed.

All this shall be that I shall gette, with the losse of the friendship of the Christians. And it is possible that for theyr causes the Pagodes will not aide nor helpe me as they haue done before time. For although you tell me, that they doe permit sometime their friendes to suffer persecution for their profit, do you not thinke the same also to happen for their offences, as it is well knowne this doth for mine. What then shall néede any further exhortations, to cause me to doe as you would haue me, and to suffer persecution for my wealth, since I doe vnderstand what the same meaneth: and for the preseruing of mine estate, it is requisite and néedfull to haue friendshippe with the Christians, if so be that you be also of the same minde, for that we are all equall in the losse, and also in the gaines.

God chasticeth mē sometime for theyr trial sometime for their offences.

For this talke of the kings, they were all sorrie that had giuen him counsell to go forward in these warres, since that they perceiued that his intent was to leaue the same, and haue friendship with the Captaine Generall. These therefore would forthwith haue aunswered, but the Prince Nabeadarin didde preuent them, who was sorrie for these warres commensed, and spake thus loking vppon them all.

The Princes Oration vnto the King & Nobles assembled

SInce the king doth aske vs counsell what is best to be done in this matter, which standeth him so much vpon, I as one that most of all am greeued with this losse, and most desirous of his profite, will therefore bée the first that shall shewe hérein my minde, and what I doe thinke thereof. In that which you saye, that oftentimes the Pagodes in the time of the persecutions that we do receiue

„ will commaund vs to doe that which they will haue vs,
„ ſo we ought to vnderſtande them, although therefore in
„ theſe warres it appeareth that it goeth very euill with vs,
„ and in this they doe ſhew how much they are our frends,
„ truely I doe beleue the ſame, the rather for that we ought
„ not to beleue them that would haue a matter done with-
„ out reaſon, as it were to geue vs the victorie againſt thoſe
„ Chriſtians, and power to deſtroy the king of cochin, vn-
„ to whom we haue done very much hurt, killynge the laſte
„ yeare his Princes and almoſt all his men, ſetting of Co-
„ chin a fire, and deſtroying his countrey, from whence
„ we hunted him away, with his great diſcredite, diſpoſſed
„ him of his kingdome & ſubiects, ſo that al they for the feare
„ they had of vs did leaue him, yea his owen frendes forſoke
„ him, & went againſt him, & all for our ſake. And aboue all
„ theſe euils the which he did not deſerue, for ỹ he was not in
„ any fault, we would yet proceed further, vtterly to deſtroy
„ him. What hath he done? Did hee procure to take anye
„ mans countrey from him? No. In friendſhip did he vſe
„ himſelfe traiterouſly? Neither. Did he commaunde the
„ Marchantes that they ſhould not come to Calicut? Neither.
„ Did he thẽ ſome worſe thing ſince he did nothing of theſe?
„ Nothing at all. What then? forſooth for ỹ he did receiue into
„ his countrey the Chriſtians which being driuen out of Ca-
„ licut, went to ſeeke him out, as he was deſirous to encreaſe
„ and enpeople his Citie, and to augment hys eſtate and ri-
„ ches: Shall we therefore deſtroy him being our friend, as
„ an enemie? With this right doe the Pagodes helpe vs to
„ take the honor, riches and credite from the right owner? It
„ cannot be ſo, for that they be righteous and iuſt, and ther-
„ fore they will not help vs agaynſt thoſe Chriſtians which
„ were ſlayne, robbed, and thruſt out of Calicut, and were
„ there receiued vnder ſafeconduct from the king, comminge
„ to his porte before any others, and not geuing cauſe wher-
„ fore they ſhould receiue ſo many iniuries. If wee doe it
„ for that they laide hande vpon a Shippe of the Moores,
„ there is no reaſon why, for that the kinge commaunded

them

them to stay the same: And if he had ben aduised by al men ,,
as he was by me, the Moores should haue paid for that they ,,
had done & that very well, for & if they had ben punished, it ,,
would wel haue appered, ꝑ the king had benin no fault of ꝑ ,,
which they had done. And this had bene sufficient to haue ,,
confirmed the friendship of the Christians with him, & this ,,
also would haue bene a cause sufficient, to haue kept them ,,
in Calicut from going to cochim, to haue there setteled a ,,
trade, whom the king through euill councell hath trauay- ,,
led so much to take them, as though they were theeues that ,,
had robbed him of his owne, they being so good, so gentle, ,,
so valyant as we see, and besides so gratefull of the bene- Amongst
fite they doe receiue. For the receiuing of them as ꝑ king other ver
of Mylinde did, they gaue euer two ships laden with gold, tues grate
the which they had taken from a Cousin of his. If these fulnes cō-
men were Theeues, as the Moores doe say they are, those mended.
were prices not to be left. You know how rich a Present ,,
they brought to the king, and what ritch merchandise they ,,
brought, and how much golde and siluer. Those fishermen ,,
which they did carrie away naked, did retourne againe all ,,
apparailed. If then we were friends, how surely should we ,,
liue: & what profit should the king haue, if we had amitie ,,
with them. I do not speak of ꝑ ship ꝑ carried ꝑ Elephants ,,
which was giuen him: when all ꝑ prises did passe by these ,,
theeues hands, the which they left. These were seruices to ,,
be thankfully receiued, giuing occasion to vs to gratifie thē ,,
in like sort, and to be glad to haue them for our friends, & ,,
since we did put them awaye when they had nēde of vs, ,,
now that we haue nēde of them, let it not be thought euil, ,,
to conclude a peace with them, for that the wars we make ,,
against them, we make the same against our selues. They ,,
are vpon the Sea of more power then we are, as you may ,,
well see the same by the long time they haue defended this ,,
passage, and with what power of men, and also what de- ,,
struction they haue brought vpon vs, and are like to doe, ,,
since that our Countrey lyeth nere to the water side, and ,,
that with our owne losse, we haue well seene the truth. ,,

Do. There-

" Therfore let it go no further, but let vs take some remedie
" to haue a peace concluded amongſt vs: for if we haue not, ỹ
" port or harbour of Calicut wil be vtterly vndone, & the king
" wil be like to loſe all his rents. This doth concerne him
" more then al ỹ friendſhip of ỹ Moores, which haue no other
" reſpect but only to their owne profit, & not to the kings, &
" theſe be they that do giue councell to make theſe warres.

How the councell of the prince Nabeadarin was gainſaid, & how a certein Moore of Calicut did inuent the making of certein caſtles of timber, with the which they might lay the caruels abord. ca. 69

THe king of Calicut all this while gaue great care to ỹ which ỹ prince his brother had ſaid, & immediatly anſwered ỹ he was in ỹ fault, as touching ỹ which was paſt, & had repented himſelfe to haue taken ỹ enterpriſe in hand. And therfore he deſired them al, to enter into councel with his brother, & to take ſome good order for ỹ cõcluding of peace wt vs: which was not wel thought of by ỹ Lord of Repelin, for ỹ he was cõfederate with ỹ Moores to hinder ỹ ſame, & after ỹ the king had ended his talke, he ſpake in this manner following. According as ỹ Malabars are cõſtant, ſo I do well beleeue, ỹ frõ hence forth they wil not haue thee in any reputation, if thou ſhuldeſt do as thou ſaiſt, for ỹ they would impute ỹ ſame rather to cowardnes, then to any reuelatiõ or forewarning of ỹ Pagodes. This is a matter not wel to be thought of, much leſſe thẽ to be ſpokẽ of amongſt perſons of honor as heere are, & with ſo great a power, with hope of many more if there were nede: for al ỹ noble men of ỹ Malabars are redy for ỹ ſame, hauing great cõfidence in thy valiantneſſe, & therfore did chooſe thee to be head of this war. And now, wilt thou leaue ỹ ſame without receiuing any hurt in thy perſon, with ỹ which thou mighteſt excuſe the ſame, not to die in thy demaund. But returning whole, & with many of thine whole, what wil they ſay but ỹ for ỹ feare of ſo few ſtrangers thou giueſt ouer ỹ thou haſt begun wt ſo great a heat, & that thou runneſt away not being ouercome? With this thou ſhalt loſe thy credit ỹ thou haddeſt with all men, which ſince it is ſo, were thou not better die, then to liue diſhonored? I maruel much ỹ the prince

The Lord of Repelins anſwere to the prince in the coũcel houſe.

did

did not consider this, which is ẏ principal matter ẏ he shuld make rekoning of, as one ẏ doth estéeme thine honor, I ẏ do also estéeme ẏ same, do not councel ẏ king to giue ouer the wars, although I should sée ẏ Pagodes cõmand thée, for rather death is to be wished, then such obediẽce. Go forwards therfore in these wars, for so ẏ Pagodes wold haue thée do, & do not contrary vnto this aduise. The Moores ẏ wer present hearing al this talk, which was to their contẽt, did further ẏ same as much as in thẽ lay, setting forward ẏ king, praising him to be innincible, laieng before him ẏ infamy he shuld incur, if he did leaue ẏ wars: they offred him moreouer their persons & goods towards ẏ same, alleadging ẏ increasing of his rents with their trade, plenty of victuals in his city with their being there, declaring also ẏ old friendship they haue had with him, & how they were become naturall inhabitants of his country, with many other things, vnto ẏ which ẏ king wold not answere, neither yet his brother, for ẏ al those kings & Lords did help ẏ Moores aduise, & so it was concluded ẏ the wars shuld go forward. And for ẏ it had gone with ẏ king so euill in ẏ foord, they found a new inuention to lay the caruels a boord, which a certeine Moore of Repelin made called Cogeal, who had ben a trauailer, & sæne sundry inuentions deuised. And for ẏ cause hauing a pregnant wit, he inuẽted a castle to be made of timber, built vpon two boats or lighters, placing two beames crossewise ouer ẏ forepart of the said boats, & the sterne or poope of ẏ boats to be as broad as ẏ castle long, ẏ which castle was made square, & vpon those beams were other placed, so high as a chãber from a hall, & in euery square were quarters of timber thick set together, of ẏ height of a lance, or little lesse, mortased in ẏ said beams, & nailed with great yron nails, & in ẏ bodies of ẏ quarters of timber wer holes made, through ẏ which went bars of yron, so ẏ to sight the castle sæmed a strong thing. In this castle might 40. men be wel placed, besides certein péeces of ordinance, so that in this wise this castle might passe ẏ riuers, & wo grapuls ioyn wo ẏ caruels, which being dõe ẏ king desired ẏ sight therof, & whẽ he had sæn ẏ same, did not only praise his wit, but also

The dissimuling vvords of ẏ Moores to ẏ king.

rewarded him very largely, and by the ſame paterne commaunded other ſeauen to be made, that vpon them the Caruells might diſpend their times, & occupie themſelues, thinking that euen ſo it would be.

Of the great alteration there was in Coching, about theſe Caſtles, and what pollicie the Captaine found to defend the Caruell from them. Chap. 70.

IMmediatly after, was the Captaine generall aduertiſed by eſpies that he had ſent of theſe caſtles, and that the enimies were alſo making in readineſſe certein fireworkes, ỹ therwith they might burne ỹ caruells, & if they could not burne ỹ ſame, ỹ then with theſe caſtles, they might lay the ſaid Caruel aboꝛd: As ſone as the dwellers & inhabitants of Coching heard of theſe caſtles, they were therwith greatly afeard, leaſt ỹ the enimyes would take Coching, & with that did make themſelues in a redineſſe to flie from thence, foꝛ the which the king of Coching was very ſad, ſuppoſing ỹ indeꝺ with theſe Caſtles, his enimies wold take his country from him. After this, certeine of the inhabitants of Coching went to ỹ Captaine generall, to aſke him whether he was able with his caruells to defend himſelfe from theſe caſtles. Wherupon the Captaine anſwered & aſkt of them, wherefoꝛe they demanded ỹ queſtion, ſeeing ỹ they did well know, that from a greater power then this, he had made them flie with broken heads, & ſo he doubted not, but he would doe againe. With this anſwere, ỹ inhabitants of Coching were fully ſatiſfied, & ſo minded not to remoue themſelues from thence, vntill ſuch time the battell were fought. The Captaine general foꝛ to encourage them the moꝛe, commaunded before them all to pitch a long ſtaffe in the ground, the which was made ſharp at ỹ one end. The ſame amongſt the Malabars is called Caluete, vpon ỹ which they do execute iuſtice of death: vnto the

A Caluete, and vvhat the meaning thereof is.

powrest or vilest people of the country: insomuch ỳ if they say to a Naire, Naire Caluete, they take the same for a greater reproch then any other. This Caluete being pitched on this sort, the Captaine generall did then sweare, to spit vpon the same the king of Calicut, if so be that he did fight with him, & so forthwith he commaunded in dispraise of the king of Calicut, ỳ all his men should say with a lowd voice, Samurin Caluete. At this sight the inhabitants merualled to see ỳ boutnesse of ỳ Captaine, & so minded to remaine & keep the towne. But for all this, the Captaine Generall was inwardly moued in spirit, for feare ỳ indeed they wold lay his caruels a bord, & that for lacke of men. Howbeit ỳ better to defend them from ỳ same, he commanded to be made a certeine Caniso, ỳ which was made vō certeine masts of ships, ioyned the one to the other, & bound with great bolts and hoops of yron. These masts wer of eight fathom of length, & as many of breadth, & were placed from ỳ Caruels a good stones throw. And for ỳ the eb nor yet the flood should carry ỳ same away, ther wer laid out fiue great ankors, three of them vpon the flood, & the other vpon the eb, ỳ made the same the surer. And for that the Caruels should remaine so high as ỳ castles, one Peter Rafal considering these deuises, deuised also to encounter with the height of those castles, to make certeine turrets of halfe masts, which were set vpright, and made fast a bord the caruell, in the which turrets seuen or eight men might fight at pleasure in each of them. This being done, one morning before day ther came to visit the Captain general the king of Cochin, of whose cōming the Captaine was very glad, for ỳ he had heard how fearfull he was, & therfore he gaue him a good countenance, yet for all this, the king could dissemble no lōger, but presently his eies did run downe with water, & with ỳ he embraced the Captaine general, & cōmanded those noble men ỳ came with him to do ỳ like, which was done with so sorrowfull a countenance, as though it were ỳ last time ỳ they should meet. Afterward ỳ king did apart himself with ỳ captaine & some of our men, & as a man out of his wits, said vnto him.

The king of Cochins vvordsto the Captaine generall.

The King of Galycut hath a great power, and we are but few, and that without any hope that I haue to defend Cochin, or any of my people, who beſides are ready to runne away if thou be ouercome. And ſince that I am vndone, I requeſt thée, that thou doe prouide for thine owne ſafetie, whilſt thou haſt time, for that afterwards, I doubt thou ſhalt not haue the ſame: and therewith, as though he were ſtopped in the throte, he ſpake no more.

The aunſvver that the captain generall made to the King of Cochin.

The Captaine generall ſhewing himſelfe to be angrye with this ſpeach, aunſwered him ſomewhat with cholar, aſking him what weakneſſe or cowardneſſe he had ſéene in him, that he ſhould will him to prouide for his ſafetie? And further ſaid, that there or in what place ſoeuer he was, he was moſt aſſured to defend himſelfe from the King of Calicut, and alſo doubted not but to giue him the ouerthrow, notwithſtanding the great power he brought. And diddeſt not thou tell me (quod he) all theſe times paſt, that God did fight for the Portingales, but now how doſt thou doubt of the ſame? I haue a hope in God, that to morow thou ſhalt ſée the King of Calycut put in that Caluete, and of this I doe not doubt, if he doe tarry me, neither yet thou oughteſt to haue any doubt, if thou wouldeſt thinke vpon the victories that God hath giuen me ſo oftentimes, the King of Calycut hauing the ſame aduantage that now he hath. This thou oughteſt to beléeue, and not that which the Moores of Cochin do tell thée, for y they all doe not loue vs, neither yet the alteration of the Mayzes ſhould make thée apalde, which are afeard of euery puffe of winde. Repent thy ſelfe therefore of that thou haſt told me, and diſpaire not, but returne with good courage to Cochin, and there alſo to comfort and harten thy people, ſhew thy ſelfe ſtrengthened, & ſtay thy ſubiects from going away, and let me alone with this Paſſage, for I will giue thée a good accompt thereof.

The King minding not to encreaſe his cholar, did ſhew himſelfe recomforted with his words and comfortable anſwere, truſting that we would defend the Paſſage, according to the valyaunt mindes he had founde in vs, and in

our

our Captaine generall: which he did affirme without any doubt of the defence thereof. The Nayres, and all the people of Coching, vpon their alteration and determination, they made for their departing, beleeuing yet that our men should be ouerthrowen, did thereupon prouoke the Moores to runne awaye, but yet neuerthelesse they would not.

¶How the King of Calycut did giue the Battaile vnto the Captaine generall with his castells, & how they were all ouerthrowen. cap.71.

The King of coching being departed, the Captaine generall went to his Caruell, shewing himselfe grieued greatly, to see the King so faint hearted, the which might bee the occasion that Coching might be disinhabited, which he feared very much: and being desirous to suppe with his men, thether came Lorenso Moreno, with those of the Factorie, with whom he was accustomed to come, for (as I haue said) there was neuer any found in the battel of our men, that the enimies could ouercome: The Supper being done, they went to rest themselues till midnight, and being confessed and absolued by the Vicar, the Captaine generall said vnto them.

The Captain generals Oration to his company

MAsters and my friends, I am very merie & glad that you doe remember the principall thing, which is your soules, for that I doe well knowe, that with this remembrance God will haue vs in his high & glorious memorie, to giue vs the victory against our enimies, not onely for the satisfaction of our troubles, but also for the increasing of his holy and Catholike faith, and that the King of Coching and his people might vnderstand, that our God is a true God, and mightie aboue all mighties, and that hee doeth not fayle those which doe put theyr confidence and trust in his name. As for the King of Coching, you did well see him yesterdaye howe sadde and heauie

and

„ and without hope he went away distrusting in the victo-
„ ry, which God I doubt not hath promised vs, making sure
„ account, that we were all lost, and vtterly cast awaye, per-
„ swading me withall, that I shuld in time prouide for mine
„ owne safetie. Surely I did neuer finde in him so much
„ feare, nor yet so great towardnesse, the occasion therof was,
„ that they heard that the power of the king of Calicut was
„ much greater then it was before. And although it were so
„ great as they doe thinke, yet farre greater without al com-
„ parison is our God, and that haue you well seene in the
„ helps past that he hath sent vs, and euen so now do I hope
„ that he will likewise helpe vs and send vs the victory.
„ And with this hope let vs assuredly trust to ouercome the
„ enimyes, for he will maintaine the honour that wee haue
„ gotten, and from hence forth will so encrease the same, that
„ we shuld remaine in this worlde for lightes of valiaunt
„ men, and for the same be so feared in the Indias, that nei-
„ ther the king of Calicut nor any else will dare set vpon vs:
„ and the honour being gotten, we shall be assured of rest for
„ the troubles we haue had.

Men make warres to the intēt to liue in peace.

As he had ended they sayd all, that without the victorye they would not liue. And at this time which was two houres after midnight, some of the Ordinaunce of the fleete of the king of Calycut beganne to discharge, making theyr way towards the Captaine Generall: and the king himselfe went by land, being accompanied with more then thirtie thousand men, with his field peces, as his vse was, and with great hope ỹ he should giue vs the ouerthrow, & with this double pride, much more then he euer had, he came forward. The Lord of Repelyn marched before with certeine men that should make rampyres of earth in the point of Arroul, for a defence for our enimyes in the battell.

He brought with him great noises & cries, with great pleasure and daunces, the which the Captaine generall dide heare, and went verie secretly a lande, and placed himselfe in the very point where the enimies shuld come, the which

he

he did defend that the enimies should not make there any rampyers, about the which our men killed some of them. This being knowne to the king of Calicut, that the Captaine Generall came thether to méete with him, hée commaunded his souldiers with a stout stomacke to set vppon him and take him aliue, the better to reuenge himselfe on him at his pleasure. About this there was a great skirmish and many of the enimies were slaine without taking of the Captaine Generall, neither yet could they make theyr rampiers. As the morning came on which was the Ascention day, the other Fléete did appeare, ỹ which was not far off, and by this, the Captaine generall was retired vnto his boates, but it was with great trouble, because of the great multitude of the enimies which came vpon him: howbeit he imbarked both himselfe and his men without lacking any of them, but there were of the enimies many slaine and hurt. The point béeing now cléere & vnfurnished, the enimies came and placed themselues there, and then they began to shoote off their Ordinaunce at vs, to the which wée did aunswere with ours, doing them great hurt therewith, for that all our shot went amongst the enimies, where they lay open, and our men were well fenced, therefore their ordinaunce could doe vs no hurt. The king of Calicut séeing this, sent word to his Fléete that they should rowe a pace, and come to helpe and deliuer him from the daunger and feare that our men did put him in. The Fléete being come, it was a fearefull sight to beholde them, for that there was driuen before them certeine raffes, the which went alwaies burning, with intent to set the Caruells on fire, and after them an hundred and ten Paraos full of men & ordinance, & many of them cheined together, and after them a hundred Catures in the same manner, and foure score Tonis de coxia ancha, and in each of them thirtie men, besides theyr ordinaunce, and the eight castles in kéeping of these, the which stode hard by the point, for that the ebbe was not as yet altogether entered. The enimies came with great clamor, making great laromes and cries, and plaieng vpon instru-

The king of Calicut being in danger sendeth for succor to ỹ rest of his fleete.

ments accounting vs as ouercome already, and with this, they ſhot off ſo many peces of Ordinance as it was wonderfull to ſee, and with their fagots which they brought before them burning, they drew very nere to the Canizo, which was placed before the Caruells, and therefore they could not come to ſet the Caruels a fire, neither any other of all the Fleete. Wherefore, all thoſe that went before, did ioyne with the Canizo, and therewith did giue vs battaile, & without all doubt they had cloſed with vs at this time, if this defence had not bene. In this ſodaine fight which was very great, the battel indured a good while, vntill ſuch time the ebbe came on, and at this time the enimies receiued great hurt, not onely in their Fregates that were torne in peces and ſunke, but alſo many of their men that were ſlaine and hurte. The Ebbe being come, the Paraos with their Caſtles did put off from the poynt, and to the ende they ſhould goe the ſwifter, they were rowed with boats. Theſe came right towards the Caruells, and in the greateſt of them all went fortie fighting men, and in the other of the middle ſort in each of them fiue and thirtie, and in the leſſer ſort thirtie men. All theſe were bowmen & ſhot, and beſides that they did carrie Ordinaunce, and ſtode all abroad, which did ſhewe ſo terrible and monſtrous a front, as was fearful to be ſeene, the rather being ſo great a fleet, in compariſon of our ſmall power to defend them, we hauing but two Caruells & two boats. But this was ỹ day wherein God did well ſhew, the great regard he had to preſerue vs, for that neither the fight of ſo many men, and ſo many ſorts of wayes whereby they had compaſſed and beſet vs, neither yet ſuch a Fleete, that was ſo great and mightye, with the fearefull cryes that the Enimies did make, nor the terrible thundering of the Ordinance, could any wayes diſcourage or make vs afeard. The greater of the Caſtles being come hard to this defence, did then ſhote off all his ordinance at the Caruels, & the Captaine generall commaunded to ſhote at the ſame with a Saker, the which cauſed the ſaid Caſtle to ſtand wauering, but yet did

them

them little harme, neither yet with another peece that they shot off forthwith, with the which Captaine generall was so sad, that he lifted vp his eyes vnto heauen, saieng: Lord, doe not retourne my sinnes to my face at this time, and this he said with such a loude voyce, that some there were that heard the same. In the meane while came the other Paraos, which did set themselues right equal with the first, & with the comming of these, the battell did increase more and more very stoutly on all parts. Their arrowes came so thicke, which made so great a shadow, that sometimes ther appeared neither heauen nor earth, with ỹ great smoke of their Ordinaunce. The Captaine generall did tourne, and commaund to shoote at the great Castle the Saker againe, & as with ỹ other shot past, they had somwhat shaken their vpon works which were not very strong, so with the same shot they presently brake, & after ỹ the vpon workes were thus broken, some of their beams being likewise caried away, with certeine of their men slaine, with ỹ same our men gaue a great cry, & the Captaine general falling down on his knees, gaue God great thankes, & returning to shoot the Saker againe, did carrie away another row of beams, with many more slaine and hurt, and the Ordinaunce being shotte off againe, it was all torne in peeces in a small space, and so the enimies went with their Castle further of, but the others remayned there fighting very stoutly. And after this, both parts endured more trouble all the day following, then in all the battells that were past: but in the ende, we did so much hurt vnto their Castles, and sunke and rent so many of their Paraos in peeces, ỹ the enimies could not abide the same, & therfore they shrank thence. The fight did endure till euensong time, & began in ỹ morning: of the enimies wer many slain, as afterward was seene in ỹ water, & of vs none, nor any hurt, but only bruised with a shot which went through ỹ Admiral, ỹ bullet went among many that were there, but they receiued no harme.

The praier of a distressed minde in the bitternesse of heart.

The Captaine generall seeing the enimies went their waye, followed them in their Boates, and such paraos

as he had, ſhoting alwayes at thoſe that were vppon the point Arraul, with the king, and with the force of their Ordinaunce made them runne away, leauing behinde them ſlaine three hundred and thirtie men. This beeing done, he then returned to his Caruells, where that euening came to viſit him the Prince of Coching in the behalfe of the king, who ſent to excuſe himſelfe that he could not come to viſit him in his owne perſon. But he ſent him againe word, that he wold receiue no diſcharge, vntill ſuch time he knew his heuines was paſt, but praied him frō hence forth to beléeue better in God, for that the daungerous daye of the Caſtles was paſt, and he remained in the paſſage as he did before, all ſafe, and in readineſſe to ſerue him. The ſelfe ſame daie came to viſit him certeine noble men, of thoſe that were of the king of Cochings ſide, with whome there was made great triumph for this victorie: and likewiſe there went to ſée him many Moores Merchants which brought him great preſents, ſuppoſing to get of him thereby great friendſhip. He receiued them very gently, praieng them to be true ſubiects to the king of Coching, for thereby they ſhould finde him aſſured at any time whenſoeuer he might ſtand them in any ſtéede, whereupon they faithfully promiſed ſo to do, & to binde them the more, he made them very great chére. Alſo the next day in the morning the king of Coching came to viſit him, who imbraced him with as great gladneſſe as could be deuiſed, ſaieng that he did wel performe ý which he had promiſed, in giuing the king of Calycut the ouerthrowe. But vnto this he anſwered, that he had not performed all his promiſe, ſince that he did not put him on the Caluete, but he was not in fault thereof, for that the king kept himſelfe alwayes farre from him. He declared alſo to the king diuerſe other matters of pleaſure, which the king anſwered in like manner, praiſing very much his valiantnes, & that he had wel ſéene ý God did fight for vs, aſking of him forgiueneſſe for ý diſtruſt he had in him, & how greatly he was bound to ſuccour him, declaring alſo that the affaires of Portingale were very great, and confeſſing lyke-

wiſe

wise that he through his worthinesse had made him king. After this victorie the inhabitants of Cochin did cast off the feare they had of the king of Calycut, in such sort, that neuer from thence forth they stode in anye dread of him, neither yet made account of his habilitye.

Of the counsell which the king of Calycut tooke of his brother, and how hee was saine-saide: and also by what pollicie & meanes the king of Calycut sought to kill the Captaine generall. Chap. 72.

THE king remained greatly ashamed and very sad, for that at the same time he could not ouerthrowe the Captaine Generall, the rather because he neuer accounted any thing more certeine, then to ouer come him in that conflict, because of the Castles which he had prepared for his confusion. And now leauing a side all hope euer to haue the victorie, he desired to haue with vs no more warres, and therefore he called before him into his tents, all those kings and noble men that came to helpe him, and sayd thus vnto them.

The king of Calicuts oration vnto his noble men.

YOV doe well se how little our power profiteth vs against these men, and how little our pollicies preuaileth since they doe not regard vs, and would neuer giue ouer the passage, notwithstanding the greate power we had against them. The like account also they make of vs in their feasts, and pastimes when we goe against them, as though wee were the fewer, and they the more, and as though the land which they are in were theirs, & we were the Christians, whereby it appeareth, they alwayes make account of the victorie for certeine, which either they obteine by witchcrafts, or else their God doth fight for them, which cannot bee otherwise, considering the great victories they haue had

„ againſt vs, and the greate hurt that we haue receiued of
„ them. Wherfore I ſuppoſe that God would it ſhould be ſo,
„ for the litle iuſtice ỳ is obſerued in theſe wars, as hath wel
„ appered in the beginning of the ſame. And if I had ben wel
„ aduiſed, it ſhuld not haue gone ſo farre forward, but in the
„ end I am in the fault, and not they, and ſince it is ſo, wee
„ haue therin no right cauſe, neither canne gette any thing
„ by our ſtrength. Let vs therfore giue it ouer, & deſire no more
„ to haue Cochim, for that God doth fauour theſe men, ſince
„ wel you ſee, there is no power in the Indias that can offend
„ vs ſo long, we being ſo ſtrong, but theſe dogs, of whom I
„ am afraid, ỳ they will ſubdue the Indias, according to the
„ acts that they haue done, and the credit that they haue got-
„ ten, eſpecially in Malabar. And that this miſhap may go no
„ further, I thinke it ſhoulde be conuenient to procure their
„ friendſhip, & alſo it is time to get vs away, for ỳ the winter
„ commeth on, & the riuers doe increaſe, & theſe men do ouer-
„ run all: and this is certeine, ỳ if the wars indure, they will
„ come hether & inforce vs to depart with our loſſe & diſho-
nor. Now ỳ firſt that he aſked councell of what was neceſ-
ſary to be done, was his brother Nabeadarin, who being an-
gry with the king that he wold neuer follow his councel, &
leaue the warres, ſaide: that now he knewe to his coſt
what he had told him of vs: & ſince in time he woulde not
know it, he aſked him what it ſhuld now profit him for his
honour and credit, ſince ỳ then when opportunitie ſerued he
refuſed his councell, but now he willed him to do what he
ſhuld thinke good, for he could not do amiſſe. The king bee-
ing ſomwhat broken of his pride, (calling him brother) ſaid
that now there was no time to aunſwere him after ſuch
ſort, but to tell him his opinion what he thought beſt. The
The coun ſell that the king of Cali-cuts bro ther gaue him touch
prince anſwered ỳ we were venterous, & alwaies remained
ſo aſſured of the victory, vpon our experienced ſtrength and
good fortune, albeit our power were much leſſe, ſo ỳ he great-
ly doubted we would none of his friendſhip. And for thee to
offer ỳ ſame, ſaid he to ỳ king, & they to refuſe it, wold be no
leſſe diſhonor vnto thee, then the often ouerthrowes ỳ thou

hadſt

hast receiued. And since by thy profered friendship, we cannot get so much as we should loose if they refuse ẏ same, it were best therefore not to procure it, but to defer it, & make peace with the Captaine general that commeth ẏ next yere from Portingale, who considering howe little the wars will profit him, & not being assured of good successe therein, will be the gladder to make peace with thée, & therfore that it may not be thought that we run awaye for feare, let vs stay & not depart, vntill such time it shuld be thought, that ẏ necessitie of the winter did inforce vs hence, & then may we wel talke of peace, when possible the Captaine general wil willingly accept the same, doubting that his good fortune may chaunge. And to prouoke & giue orcasion the rather to haue his friendship, let vs giue him no more battels in the meane time, since it serueth to no purpose, but to the great losse and confusion of our men.

ing the making of peace with the captaine generall.

This councell of Nabeadarin was reproued by the kings and noble men which were there then assembled, & especially of the Lord of Repelyn, which said that the king ought not to goe awaye, neither for the greatnesse of the winter that should come, nor yet for the losse of his men, but rather to continue, giuing vs manye battailes, vntill such time he did take vs, and not onely procured the destruction of vs in Coching, but also of those that were in Çananor and Coulan. And that immediarly it were expedient they sent men of credit with letters to affirme, that they had borded our Caruells with their Castles, and had also slaine vs all, and taken our sayd Caruells, and therefore that they should kill all those that were there, as they had promised. To the same effect therefore the king did write immediatly and the Moores also, but there was no credite giuen to the same, for that there was other newes sent before, and therefore the last was taken for false. Neuerthelesse for all that, by the industry of the Moores the which did dwel in those two towns, our men were in great danger, and durst not come out of theyr Factoryes, and in Coulan there was one slaine, but in the other places none,

A subtile deuice by meanes of a lye to haue brought our mē to destructiō but it toke no effect

for

for afterward meſſengers were ſent from Calycut to the Gentiles, that our men were aline, and what wee had done. For which cauſe the king of Calycut was aunſwered that they would not kill our men, vntill ſuch time the Captaine Generall was taken, and that he had firſt giuen him the ouerthrowe, which beeing done, they would conclude with him. This beeing come to the knowledge of the Lorde of Repelyn, both he and the Moores did perſwade the king to fight another battell with the Captaine Generall, the which he would willingly not haue done, for that he was wearyed in his ſpirit, but he could not withſtand them, and therefore commaunded the ſame to bee giuen both by Sea and lande. But in it he had lyke ſucceſſe as before, ſo that more through the importunate deſire of the Moores then of his owne will, he gaue in his owne perſon another battell with his Caſtles, with many more men and veſſells then in the other before. This battell endured longer then the other, in which alſo the enimyes were ouercome, and receiued farre greater loſſe then euer they did before. With this victorye that we had gotten, the inhabitaunts of Coching remained ſure from all their enimies, and ſo likewiſe did the king, whom afterward came to viſite the Captaine generall, being brought in a chaire, with farre greater eſtate then euer he came before, ſince the firſt beginning of all the warres. This being knowne in the campe of the enimies, the kings and noble men that were with the king of Calicut, tooke occaſion to ſay vnto him that he ſhoulde not conſent, in eſpecially hauing ſuch a greate power as he hadde there preſent, that the king of Coching ſhould haue him in ſo ſmall reputation, as thereby to iudge himſelfe free from him, & out of his danger. To the which the king of Calicut made anſwere, that the king of Coching had great reaſon to do that which he had done, in eſpecially knowing his greate power and camp, and yet perceiuing that he could not giue him the ouerthrowe. And ſince that his euill fortune was ſuch, he deſired them not to wiſh him to go forward in theſe wars, for that he knewe well and was fully perſwa-

An aunſwere vvhich the king of Calicut made vnto certein noble mē

ded,

ded, that continuing the same, he shoulde alwayes receiue the losse, and run daily into greater danger, as by the feare thereof it was apparaunt. And therefore he requested them all to let him alone by himselfe, who so beeing, did imagine againe what course he might best take to reuenge himselfe.

And after that he came aboord, he called for certeine of his Nayres, in whom he had reposed all his trust, commanding them to go to Coching with some dissimulation, and there to trauaile all that they could to kill the Captaine generall, and all such of our men as they could meete withall. And as the Paires are men inconstant, and cannot keepe counsel longer then they are bethinking themselues therof, therfore immediatly their intent was knowne to the Captaine generall, who from thence forward had a better regard to himselfe, and vnto the rest of his companye then he had before. And the better to take those Paires which came as Spyes thether, he appointed thervnto two companies of ỹ Paires of Coching, commaunding the one to keepe dilligentlye a long the ford, and the other a long the riuer, who watched by quarters both by day and night. Whilest this dilligence was vsed, the Captaine Generall had knowledge that this spy was a Paire of Coching, and of the house or stocke of the Leeros, who had attendant vppon him certeine Nayres that were straungers, which appeared to bee lyke those of Calicut.

Nowe hauing certeine knowlege hereof, he so handethe matter, and in such order, that forthwith hee toke them all prisoners, and beeing brought before him, he commaunded them to bee cruellye whipped in the presence of those Paires of Coching, and afterwarde to bee hanged. The inhabitauntes of coching seeing this, requested the Captaine Generall to giue them some other punishment since that they were Nayres, and not to shewe them so great extremitie, but notwithstanding hee wold not graunt vnto anye other punishment, for that they had deserued the same.

The Oration of certeine captains vnto their generall for his better aduiſe in administration of iuſtice.

Then all his Captaines ſayde vnto him, that firſt and before all he ſhould call to remembraunce, the greate troubles that the King of Coching hadde ſuſteined for the onelye mainteining of them, and alſo howe much it woulde grieue him to heare ſaye, that ſuch were hanged in his Countrie without his conſent.

Alſo it woulde giue an occaſion for ſuch noble men as were with him, to ſaye that he is a king but for a while, ſince that his iuriſdiction is nowe taken from him. And forasmuch as hetherto he had vſed him alwayes with reuerence, they wiſhed that nowe at the ende he woulde haue him in a greater eſtimation then euer hée hadde before.

The Captaine Generall hauing conſidered theyr reaſons, did allowe of theyr good councell herein, and cauſed thoſe Paires to be ſent for, that were gone to execution, of the which there were two halfe dead, but thoſe that were liuing hée ſent to the king of Coching, aduertiſing him how that they hadde deſerued death, and alſo the cauſe why hée hadde not commaunded them to bée hanged.

The King hearing this, toke the ſame in greate honour and eſtimation, that they were ſent him, and eſpeciall for that there were preſent ſundrye of the noble men of his Countrie, and of other places, yea, and Moores alſo, of the chiefeſt that dwelt in Coching, which did not lette to ſaye vnto the king to afrunt him withall, that our men were they that commaunded and did not obeye.

But from hence forthe the Captaine Generall hadde ſuch intelligence, that the ſubtile dealinges of the king of Calycut, toke very ſmall effect againſt him.

How

How the king of Calicut of pure heauinesse for the ill successe he had in the warres, did put himselfe into a Torcull, and within a small time after came foorth therof. chap. 73.

THe Iune being now ended, and the winter beginning to increase, the Captaine generall thought that it woulde be some cause that the king of Calicut would not tarrie there long. And therfore he was fully minded to set vpon him at the remouing of his camp, for that by experience he knew the small valour of his enimies, by such victories as he had gotten in times past, which did therefore animate him the more therevnto, thinking that at such a time he might doe him much harme. And being in a readinesse to vncheine his Malles, he was presently informed that the king of Calicut was reforming a new his Castles, and preparing in a readinesse a greater Fléte then euer he had before, that hée might giue him therewith once more the battaile. This was but a fléing newes that was commaunded to be giuen out by the king of Calycut, who did surmise that at the raising of his Campe, which hée was minded to doe, and to goe his waye, the Captaine Generall woulde sette vppon him.

A false alarome giuē forth by ỹ Calicutians to terrifie the Portingals vvith all.

And therefore hée determined, that his departure should be so secretlye done, that no man shoulde knowe therof but onelye Nabeadarin. For this cause therefore he gaue out, that hée woulde giue the battaile in the passage of Palurte, and also in the Foorde both together, to the ende the Captaine Generall might occupie himselfe in defending them both, and hée himselfe the better steale awaye, as hée didde: but hée gotte nothing thereby, more then hée hadde gotten before.

After all this, on Saterday in the Euening, which was Saint Iohns euen, on which day they gaue out, that they would giue the battaile, there appeared the whole army of the enimyes as they were accuſtomed to ſhew themſelues. The Captaine Generall hoping of theyr comming, did tarrye there all that night, but in the morning he ſaw no likelyhood thereof, and meruailing what that ſhoulde meane, was informed by two Bramenes that the king of Calycut was gone with his whole power vnto Repelyn, and that at that preſent hée was there.

For this newes hée was very ſorrie, but yet for all that hée entered that preſent daye into Repelyn, where hée fought with many of his enimyes, ſlewe and hurt a greate number, and ſo returned to the paſſage, where he remained yet certeine dayes to enſure Coching the better, which was yet afeard of the king of Calycuts returning, fearing that he would not leaue this paſſage. Howbeit the Captaine Generall was well aſſured that he would not come there, by reaſon hée was fallen into ſuch reproch and ſhame, in the ſight of all men, becauſe of his great loſſes. So that immediatly after that he had paſt the riuers of Repelyn, he apparted himſelfe with his noble men which had accompanied him in theſe warres, and ſaid vnto them with weeping eyes in this manner following.

the kings Oration, made to ſuch princes & noble mẽ as came to aide him in theſe vvarres.

FOR a man that is without ſhame, as I am, it is not much to ſhedde theſe teares as I doe, the heauineſſe of my loſſe béing ſuch, as fetcheth the ſame from my hearte, with the which I am ſo troubled, that ſince it is ſo, that I cannot doe it in publike ſorte, I will goe into ſome place where I may do the ſame without any body that may ſée mée. I haue alſo another griefe which troubleth mée beſyde ſore, ouer and beſides my diſhonour, which is, for
„ that I am not able to reward you for all the greate
„ good will and ſeruice you haue done mée in theſe warres,
„ the which I take for ſo greate a duetye, that if ſo be that
„ I might ſée my ſelfe diſcharged of the ſame, I ſhould bée

bet-

better contented, then with the getting of Coching. But, since it is not Gods pleasure that I shoulde get the victorie ouer it, which hath procured my dishonour, so is it not his pleasure and will that I possesse the state of a king any longer, but rather for the amending of my sinnes will ende my lyfe in this Torcull, where I meane to continue vntill such time that God hath taken awaye this hatred, which hee hath conceiued against mee. And from this time forward you may dispose of your selues, and do what you shall thinke best with my countrie and subiectes. I doe not offer you my person, forsomuch as beeing a man so vnfortunate as I am, it shall not stand with your credite to require his companye, and with this speach hee ended his talke.

A Torcull is as much as vvith vs an hermitage, or such lyke pore kind of solitary relgious place

But the Princes and Noble men woulde somewhat haue comforted him, and withdrawne him from this his determination, but it could not preuaile, for that he had fully bent himselfe to the contrary, and so with certeine of his Chaplaines he entered into this Torcull.

Now his mother hauing knowledge that he was there, shee sent him word, that for this his sodeine determination she remained as heauie and with as sorrowfull a heart as might bee. Informing him moreouer, that through this sodeine chaunce, there hath risen in Calycut a great alteration, for that from thence are gone and now are ready to go many sundrie merchants, and also that the citie is become wonderfully vnprouided of victualls, with the greate feare the inhabitants are in of the Christians: which is the occasion ther are no victualls brought thether. But no perswasion she sayd, could withdrawe him from these wars with the Christians, which from the beginning of the same was a great griefe vnto her: willing him also that in no case he shoulde returne vnto Calycut, vntill he might doe the same with his credit, which was cleane lost alreadie. And therefore shee counsailed him a while to forbeare, vntill such time he did recouer it againe, and that with victorie, yea, rather to lose all then to returne without it.

The Mothers message to the King of Calycut, being in the Torcull.

Wher credit is impaired, it is better to lurke then to runne abroad vvith dishonour.

With this meſſage the Kings heauinoſſe increaſed greatlye, and he ſent immediatelye for his Brother, to whome being come, he gaue him charge of the gouernment of his kingdome. But after that he came out of the foreſaid Torcull, it was reſtored vnto him againe.

¶ How there came ſundry Kings & Princes of the Countrey to demaund peace of the Captaine generall: & alſo how there came vnto Cochin many Moores of Calycut, to inhabite there. Chap. 74.

ALL theſe Kings and Noble men, which came to ſerue ỹ king of Calicut (after that he had placed himſelfe in the Torcul) remained a few dayes in Repelyn, tarrieng to ſée whether he did repent himſelfe of that which he had done, or not: and perceiuing ỹ contrary, each of them repaired toward their Countreyes, whereof the moſt part of them laye there along the water ſide. And forſomuch as the Winter began to increaſe, and they fearing leaſt the Captaine generall would ouercome them all, hauing now loſt the hope they had to defend themſelues now as before time. Therefore they minded to procure as much as they could, to be friends and in peace with the Captaine generall. For the which intent as Mediatour for the ſame purpoſe, they ſent to the King of Cochin, whom for that his condition and nature was very good, & without calling to remembraunce the iniuries that were paſt, which they had done vnto him, did vndertake to do the ſame. Sending them immediatly a ſafeconduct for their ſafe comming vnto Cochin, from whence he went in their company to viſit the Captaine generall, whom at their méeting, he earneſtly requeſted

the good nes of the King of Cochings nature noted in being a meane to procure.

queſted to receiue them as his friendes, who aunſwered, that for his ſake he would ſo doe. Diuers other Princes alſo there were, that coulde not come, but yet notwithſtanding they ſent vnto him their Embaſſadours to conclude this peace likewiſe. Alſo ſundrye Moores of Calycut that were great Merchants, to the ende they might quietly vſe their trade, forſoke Calycut, & came to dwell at Cochin, with the conſent of the Captaine generall. Others there were that went to Cananor and Coulan, ſo that the great Trade that was before in Calycut began ſodainly to fall. And for that the Moores of Calycut began in this ſorte to inhabite in Cochin, therefore the Captaine generall would not leaue this paſſage, as alſo for that there came manye & ſundry times Paraos from Calycut into the riuers to keep the ſame, by Nabeadarins commaundement. Howbeit the Captaine generall met with them and fought with them, and hurt many of his enimies. Moreouer, he oftentimes entered into the Lord of Repelyns Countrey to take Cattell for his prouiſion, & fought with many of his enimies, vpon whom he made great ſlaughter. One daye by chaunce our men met with certaine Tones of the enimies, the which were in a certaine ſtanding water, and carried them away into the riuers, and made with the enimies a valyant and ſtout ſkirmiſh, in the which was ſlaine the greateſt parte of them, and not one of our men hurt.

peace for his enimies.

After all this, the Lorde of Repelyn became the Captaine generalls friende, and came to viſite him, and brought him for a Preſent a great quantitie of Pepper, which he had in his Countrey.

The Lord of Repelin, is alſo reconciled vnto the captain generall.

¶How Lope Suares de Meneſis departed for the Indias for captaine generall of the Fleete that went in the yeare of our Lorde, a 1504. and what more paſt or euer he came to Anſadina. cap. 75.

1504.

The fifte voiage to the Indias made by ỹ Portingales

IN the yeare of our Lorde.1504.the king of Portingale hauing certeine knowledge,that the king of Calycut continued as yet in the warres,did therfore ſend to ſuccour our men with a Fléte of twelue great ſhippes, and appointed for Generall of the ſame, a Gentleman called Lope Suares de Meneſis, who in the time of king Don Iohn the ſecond, had bene Captaine in the Mina. The Captaines of the Flét were theſe following.

Pedro de Mendoſa,Lionel Cotinuo,Triſtim de la Silua,Lope Mendus, de Vaſcon Cele,Lope de Abreo,Philipe de Caſtro,Alonſo Lopes de Caſtro,Alonſo Lopes de la Coſta,Pero Alonſo, de Aguylar, Vaſco de la Siluero, Vaſco Caruallo,Pedro Dynes de Sutunell.All theſe were Gentlemen borne, and ſome were made Gentlemen by ſeruice. Theſe alſo carryed with them many valiant ſouldiers,who being imbarked,and the Captaine Generall diſpatched,did depart from Liſhborne the.xrii. of Aprill in the ſelfe ſame yeare,and continuing theyr voiage on the ſecond day of May,they found themſelues right in their courſe to Cape Verde.Then ỹ Captaine generall hauing héere all ỹ Fléte together, cauſed his Captaines, Maiſters, and Pilots,to aſſemble themſelues,vnto whome he ſpake in ſence following. Willing them to call to remembraunce howe lately they had departed from Portingale, for which cauſe it was requiſite that they were circumſpect and diligent,and not to fall into ſuch diſorders and extremities as hetherto they haue done,for not loking euery man vnto his charge, and not to ſuffer one ſhip leye the other a borde, as they haue done alreadie, whereby they ranne all into greate daunger. Alſo there were others he ſaid,that had no regard to kéepe theyr right courſe,but vnaduiſedly there were ſome that would go before,and others come after,and others by the winde, by meanes of which diſorder they might haue

The Captain generals oration vvhich he made to his captaines,maſters and Pilots.

caſt

cast away themselues. And the better to auoid these daungers, and to kéepe the Fléete in good order, he did set downe certaine rules in writing by his Secretary, and firmed thereunto his name, with the names of the other Captaines, which they should obserue and kéepe.

Orders that were giuen to euery captain, Master and Pilot, to keepe the same in their voyage.

Inprimis, That all the Fléete, as soone as it is night, shall follow his course, remaining alwayes a sterne the Generall: and that no ship shall carry other light, then onely that which is in the Bytake, and within the Captaines cabin. Also, that the Masters and Pilots kéep their watch, and that they haue a good regard, that one ship doe not lay the other a board, and that they do all annswere, when the Admirall doth make any signe.

Item, That as soone as it is day, they doe come and salute their Generall, and that in the night they doe not go before him. He that doeth not obserue these commaundements, shall paye ten Crownes, and be kept in prison, vntill they arriue there. and that without wages. And for that there was some Masters and Pilots very negligent, by whose default one ship did lay the other a board, he commaunded to remoue them from one ship to another: and by this diligence that was thus vsed, euery man had a regard thereunto, and the Fléete went in good order, & neuer after ranne in any daunger. Thus going on their course in the month of June, and iudging themselues ouer against the Cape Buena Spuransa, there fell vpon them a meruailous great storme of winde, with the which all the Fléete ranne two dayes and two nights without sayles, so ý they were in great daunger to haue bene all cast away, the wether being so darke and close, that it séemed rather night, then day.

The penalty laid vppon the breach of these cõmaundements.

These two dayes béing past, they saw certaine signes of lande, the which as it did appeare, could not bée farre off, and for that cause was the weather so close. After that they had discryed ý same, & were come néere thereunto, then these signes appeared the greater. And therefore the Captaine generall commaunded, that out of his shippe there

Kr. should

ſhould be ſhot two péces of Ordinaunce, that the others might after the ſame manner aunſwere with the like, and the better kéepe companie the one with the other. This ſtorme being paſt, they founde miſſing the ſhip of Lope Mendez. And the Captaine generall ſéing that he hadde loſt the ſight thereof did not let to goe forwarde on his courſe.

A great leake giuē vnto one of ỹ ſhips through negligēce of the ſailers

And ſo, within certaine dayes through the negligence of the Officers, one ſhippe layde the other a borde, and gaue therewith ſo great a blow vpon the bow of ỹ other, that with the ſame there was opened ſo great a hole, that they might ſée through the ſhippe verye well, by the which hole there entered ſuch aboundaunce of water vppon a ſodayne, that the was almoſt ſunke. The Captaine generall bare with the ſame ſhippe immediately, and came ſo nére them that they might well heare him, and the great comforte he gaue them, willyng them not to bée a feарde, but to goe forwarde in ſtopping the leake, without feare to be loſt, for that he was there to ſuccour them with his men, which he did ſende in his Boate not fearing the Seas, that went ſo high, nor the daunger that they were in.

And for all that the Mariners of the ſhip did ſo worke, that or euer it was night the leake was halfe ſtopped: yet that they might end ỹ reſt that remayned to doe, the Captaine generall commaunded to be made a ſign by the ſame ſhippe, that the other Captaynes might come and ſuccour him, if there were any ſuch néede. The wether being ỹ nert daye ſomewhat calme, the leake was wholly ended, the which was ſtopped with certaine hides nayled therevnto, and pitched vpon.

The leak ſtopped, and the daunger thereof paſt, they ſayle forvvard

This daunger béeing paſt, without anye other miſchaunce, worth the writing, they arriued at Monſanbique on Saynt Iames daye, where the Gouernour receiued him verye well, and ſent him great refreſhing of freſh victualls, and the Letter that Pedro de Tayde had

lefte there for him before hée dyed, as I haue sayd before.

Who vnderstanding by the same, of the warres that the King of Calycut had begunne against our men, diddo as soone as the shippe was rigged, and made in a readinesse, which they had brought a grounde for the same purpose, he departed towarde Mylynde, béeing the first of August. And immediatelye after his arriuall there, the King sent to visite him by one of his principall Moores, by whome hée sent for a Present fiftéene of our men, the which did escape out of the ship that Pedro de Tayde was Captaine of.

Certaine Portingales sent vnto the Captain generall for a present.

Within two dayes after this, hée departed toward the Indias, and so came to Ansadina, where hée founde two Gentlemen, the one called Antonyo de Saldanua, and the other Ruy Lorenso, which were Captaines of two shippes, and were in great feare, supposing that our Fléet had bene of the Rumes. Then Antonyo de Saldanua, informed largelye the Captaine generall how he departed the last yeare from Portingale for Vice admirall, with Ruy Lorenso, being giuen him in commission to go & discouer the red Sea with the Countreyes adiacent. And how that in doublyng the Cape, they were verye sorelye troubled with a storme, which was the onelye cause of the separating the one of them from the companye of the other. But Ruy Lorenso as he kept his course after their seperation, met by chaunce in the waye to Sofala, with a certaine ship of the Moores being laden with much golde, the which hée toke: & afterward that he had taken the spoyle of the same, hée lefte the Hull in kéeping at Mylynde. Antonyo de Saldanua went to Quardafum, where he toke many great and exceéding rich prices, without entering at all into the Straights: and from thence he went into the Indias.

And for that he came not to Ansadina before it was the Winter, he was therefore driuen to tarry there with Ruy Lorenso, who hauing passed many dangers, came afterward

thether, where hée paſt great troubles, for lacke of victualls.

¶How the Captaine generall came to Cananor, and ſpake with the King: and how the Gouernour of Calycut, woulde haue made peace with him, howbeit he woulde not conſent therevnto. Chap. 76.

THe Captaine generall béing héere, came thether vnto him Lope Mendez de Vaſcon celis, who had loſt the companye of his Generall, with the foule wether paſt. And immediately after that he was come, the Captaine generall made him preſt, for his departure towarde Cananor, where he arriued the firſt daye of September. There the Factor enformed him of the warres of Calycut, and how that he with his other fellowes that remained in Cananor, had ſéene themſelues oftentimes in danger of death.

The Captaine generall goeth a land to viſite the king of Cananor.

The next daye after his comming thether, he woulde néedes goe a lande to viſite the King of Cananor. All the Captaines of the Flæte he carried in his company to attende vppon him with theyr Boates, the which were ſet forth with theyr Flagges and Ordinaunce to the vttermoſt, and the men apparayled in the beſt apparayle that they had. And as for the Boate in the which the Captayne generall went, it was couered ouer and beſet with Carpettes in the beſt manner, vppon the which ſtode his Chayre, the which was made of vnſhorne Crimſon Veluet, and at his fæte there were ſet two very faire Cuſhions of the ſame. His Dublet was alſo made of Satten, béeing of ſundrye coulours, the which was wrought Diamond wiſe.

The ſtate which the Captaine generall kept at his going to viſite ye king of Cananor.

And moreouer, his hoſe were made after the ſame ſorte, and his Shoes were lykewiſe made of blacke Veluet,

Velvet, which were all beset with Aglets of golde, and his Cap couered ouer with Buttons sutable to the same: his night gowne was made of blacke Velvet, after the French vse laced about, with lase of golde, his Dagger and Rapper which his page held, were hafted with pure golde, and his cheine came three times about his necke, the links whereof were all enameled, and at the same he hadde hanging his Whistle of golde of the lyke worke. There went before him his two Lackyes, apparcled as himself, and five trumpetters with their Flagges of silke. He had also with him certeine wind instruments, vpon the which they went playeng, which were carryed in a little Boate hard by him, and in the same was carried also a present for the king of Cananor, which the king of Portingale sent vnto him.

The present which ỹ king of Portingal sent to the king of Cananor.

This present was five beds of fine holand, with two great pillowes and pillowbeeres to the same, all wrought with gold. Two Couertors or Carpets of Crimosin Velvet vnshorne, which on the vttermost side were all quilted ouer, and had vpon the same three garde of cloth of golde, which in the middest was a spanne in breadth and in the other places of three fingers. The bedstede was all guilted ouer, the which had Curteines of Crimosin Satten, with Fringe made of golde thred. As soone as the Captaine Generall did put of from his shippes, all the Flote began to shote off. Afterwards the Trumpettes did sound, and the Drums play. After this was ended, then the Organs went, and neuer ceased, till they came to the water side, where ther were great multitudes of Moores and Gentiles, which came thether onely to see the Captaine Generall. Who as soone as he had disimbarked himselfe, entered into a certeine house, the which the king had caused to be made for the same purpose hard by the water side, in the which the bedstead with the whole furniture apperteining was set vp, and hard by the same there was a place appointed for ỹ captain generall to sit down on. When the king of Cananor came, he brought before him three Elephants armed, as though they shoulde fight, and after them there came a squadron of three thousand

The king of Cananors bravery and state at his meting vvith the captaine generall

Paires, with their weapons, which was swordes, targets, and speares. Also there came another squadron of two thousand bowe men. Last of all came the king himselfe sitting in a chaire, the which was verie rich. When he was come to this Sarame, the ordinance of all the Fleet was shot off. The Captaine Generall thereby perceiuing the king to bee at hande, went forth as farre as the doore to receiue him. And after that they had imbraced each other, he presented him with the bed, vnto the which the king did go immediatly, and lay downe vpon the same. The Captaine Generall seeing that, sate downe in his place appointed, and there they conferred together for the space of two houres. In the meane while a graye hounde of the Captaine Generalls would haue set vpon one of the Elephants, and because hee was holden, he therefore barked and plunged in such sort, that there was none that could heare, by reason of the noise they made, neither yet there was anye able to holde him, which was the occasion the king and the Captaine generall were so little time together. After this meeting, there came vnto the Captaine Generall a Moore from Calycut, with whom there was also in companie a Portingale boy, which brought a letter from such of our men as remained then captiues, from the time of Pedro Aluares Cabrals being there, who told him by word of mouth, that the king of Calycut was so broken in minde with the warres that hee had with Edwarte Pacheco, that with pure heauinesse hee put himselfe into a Torcull, sequestring himselfe from all the world.

And that there were many Moores Merchauntes so earnestly bent to followe theyr trade, that they haue left Calicut, and are gone to dwell in other places, by reason whereof, there is in Calycut greate necessitie of victualls. And therefore that the king of Calycut, the Prince, the Aldermen, and all the dwellers of Calicut are desirous to make peace, and are determined to send vnto him about the same. And gaue our men lycense to write thereof to the Captaine Generall, the which they so did, not onely about

The Mores forsake Calicut, & goe els where to dwell

bout their requeſt, but alſo to deſire him to releaſe them out of captiuitie.

The Captaine Generall ſeeing and peruſing this Letter, woulde haue aunſwered the ſame, but the Boy would not conſent therevnto, ſaieng that of force he muſt néedes returne with the Moore, for that they gaue him no further lycenſe, but to bring this Letter, vppon condition that if hée did not retourne, they woulde cutte off the heades of all thoſe his fellowes that remayned for Captiues in Calycut. Wherefore the Captaine Generall ſent them anſwere by worde of mouth, that as touching his going to Coching, it would be ſhortlye, where hée woulde come to an Ankor as néere as hée coulde to Calycut, paſſing by the ſame: and then they might take an occaſion to come theyr waye towarde the Fléete, either ſwimming or in Boates.

This theyr going without vyons about the Citie, was the occaſion that the Captaine Generall gaue them this councell, although hée knewe that they were kepte with a gard of Naires, and alſo that they ſlept in the kings houſe. After all this, he departed towarde Calycut, whether hée came on Saterdaye, the ſeauenth of September, and as ſone as hée came to an Ankor, there repayred vnto him the Boye, which brought him ỹ letter to Canahor, and with him came a Moore Seruaunt to Coſebyquin, who brought the Captaine Generall a preſent from ỹ Gouernours of the citie of Calicut, on whoſe behalfe they ſayd, that if ſo bée hée woulde ſende vnto Coſebyquin a ſafe conducte, that then hée would come and ſpeake with him, and trade for a peace.

He vvold haue thē to eſcape frō their keepers, & come ſvvimming vnto him

Wherevnto he aunſwered, that he woulde not accepte theyr preſent, nor anye other thing, vntill ſuch time the peace was concluded vpon: and as for Coſebyquin, he might come vnto him without anye feare, as a ſeruaunt of the king of Portingales. Alſo priuelye hée ſent our men worde that they ſhould indeuour as much as they could to runne away.

This aunswere being knowne to the gouernours, they sent immediatly Cosebyquin with two captiue Portingales to the Captaine Generall, beleeuing most certeinlye, that by this meanes they shuld prouoke vs to make the peace, which they sent to demaunde by the foresaide Cosebyquin. Praieng him also to tarrie three or foure dayes, which they supposed woulde be the longest time that the king woulde tarry, for that they had sent to call him, and knowing certe well, that he would doe all that they would require him. But he gaue them for full answere, that vntil such time they deliuered vnto him the two Italian runagates that wer in Calicut, he would not agree to any thing, which being deliuered, he would then doe what he thought good, but he sent them word nothing of ỹ captiues, for that he thought that at anie time they might runne their waye. But as soone as the Italians had knowledge, that the Captaine generall did demaund them, they then surmised that if so be, the captiues went not with vpon, they would runne awaye, and so gaue notice therof vnto the gouernours of the Citie, how that the Captaine Generall, if ỹ he might haue them wold make peace, yea, and with such conditions as the king himselfe would require, for that they were men of a good estimation, so that the Captaine Generall would not forgo them for any price.

The two Italian rũagates iustly required by the Captaine generall to be deliuered.

A craftye deuise of the Italians to haue the captiues closelye kept for the assurance of thẽselues.

The Aldermen giuing credite vnto this, waxed somewhat colde in speaking any further of peace, but kept the Captiues from thence forth, in such sort that they coulde not runne away. And so they remained vntill the comming of the Vizeroye Don Francisco de Almeda, & in the meane time some there were that did run awaye, and others that died of great infirmities.

Of the great destruction which the captaine generall made in Calycut, and how he came vnto Coching. chap. 77.

The

THE Captaine Generall perceiuing that the gouernours did conclude nothing, and themselues were without hope to haue the captiues, he bent himselfe determinatly to reuenge himselfe with shoting off his ordinaunce both night and day at the Citie, during the which time, he spoiled the same wonderfully, and ouerthrew the kings house and part of their Pagodes, with many other of their houses. He slew also sundry men that came to the water side, whereunto he laye somewhat nere with seuen of his small ships. Moreouer he had lieng a long the shore all their boats, in the which were both men and ordinance. This being done, he departed toward Coching, wher he arriued on Saterday being the xiii. day of September. All this day he kept himselfe a bord, and thether came our men to visit him. On the next day, he disimbarked himselfe hard by the castle in like order as he did at Cananor, where the king of Coching was tarrieng for him, and there receiued him with great pleasure. And after that he had imbraced him, they went hand in hand to the hall, in the which there was a seate of estate, wherupon was set a chaire. And for that the king did sit lowe according to his order, ỹ Captaine generall commaunded to place the chaire somewhat further off from the kings seate, in the which he sat downe also. But all those that were present were greatly offended with him, for that he did not sit upon his chaire of estate by the king, to whome he deliuered a Letter from the king of Portingale, in the which were rendered vnto him greate thankes, for the fauour he had shewed vnto his subiectes, with many other gratulations. Vnto the which the king aunswered, that for all such matters he was fully satisfied with the good seruice that Edwarte Pacheco had done vnto him.

Embassadors are to keepe theyr estates for the honor of theyr Princes that sende them.

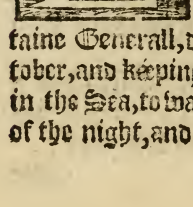
The next daye after, the Captaine Generall sent him a great sum of money, the which the king of Portingale did bestowe vpon him, for that he knew he was but poore.

After all this, he commaunded Pedro de Mendoſa, and Vaſco Caruallo to goe with theyr ſhips to kéepe the coaſt of Calycut, that they might take all ſuch ſhips of ỹ Mores as were laden with Spices: and alſo he ſent Alonſo Lopes de la Coſta, and Peralonſo de Aguylar, and Lyonel Cotinuo, and Ruy de Abren, to goe and receiue in theyr lading at Coulan, for that he knew ther was ſpice in abundaunce.

Moreouer he commaunded Triſtim de la Silua, to goe to Grangalor, betwéne the riuers, with foure boates armed, of purpoſe to fight there with certeine Paraos of Calycut, the which were there armed. So Triſtim de la Silua ſhot at ſome of them, and alſo at certeine Mayres, the which iſſued out from certeine pointes of the lande, and ſo without comming to Grangalor, he toke a ſhip laden with Pepper, with the which he returned to Coching, where hée did lade with the other Captaines, which was done very quietly: and there was ſuch great ſtore of ſpices, that there was none then néded.

They met vvith ſpices better cheap, & nerer hād then at Grāgalor.

How Edwarte Pacheco departed from Coulan vnto Coching: and how the Captaine Generall did ſet vppon Grangalor, and what he did there. chap. 78.



Dwarte Pacheco béeing come from the coaſt of Coulan, as ſone as he had ſight of the Captaines, the which the Captaine generall had ſent, and for that he ſhuld haue no more to doe after his arriuall at Coching, ſince there was come another Captaine Generall, did depart toward Coching the xvii. of October, and kéeping his courſe, had ſight of a ſhip a farre off in the Sea, toward the which he made all that day, & part of the night, and this ſhip was driuen into Coulan, where hauing

hauing talke with the same, he did vnderstand that he was one of the confederates the which came from Coromandil. And immediatlye after were seene other three shippes of Calycut, towarde the which he made his course, and kepte a long the coast with the winde of the shoare. In the morning he went into the Sea, and there he sawe a Saile, the which fled away from him in such sort, y til it was toward the euening he could not ouertake the same, but hard to the lande, with the which he fought a good while, for that it had many men that did defend themselues, but at the ende hée made them amaine. The shippe béeing yéelded, our men did enter the same by Edwarte Pachecos commaundement, and there were brought a lande certeine of theyr men, the rest he commaunded to be kept prisoners and in yrons, a bord his ship.

A ship of Calicut taken & caried away

And hauing knowledge that this was one of the three of Calicut, the which he went to séeke out, hée put in the same two of our men to kéepe and carrye it with him. When hée was come right ouer against Comorin, there fell vppon him on a sodeine such a hurling Winde, that thereby hée was brought in great hazard to be cast away.

This béeing past, he came to an Ankor within a league of the shore, and there remained all that night, in the which there ranne away well nére thirtie Moores, of the which were twelue taken againe with his Boate. After this, hée went vp and downe, wauering in the winde, tarryeng for the rest of the shippes, and séeing that they came not, nor yet heard no more newes of them, he carryed the foresayde shippe with him to Coulan. After that hée had delyuered the ship to the Factor, with all such merchandise as he had, the which wer many and rich, he departed toward Coching, where after his comming the ships of the Fléete went to lading. And likewise the others béeing come that were a lading in other places, then the Captaine generall did enter in councell, whether that they thought good that he should set vpon Grangalor or not, forasmuch as it held on the king of Calycuts side, and was enimie to the king of Coching.

The king of Calicut is nowe come forth of ỹ Torcul & taketh ỹ gouernement vpon him.

And now alſo the king of Calicut was come forth of the Torcull to Calycut, and had in the riuers his Captaine generall with foure ſcore Paraos, and fiftie ſhippes, and by lande had appointed Nabeadarin with a greate number of men.

And forasmuch as it was ſpread abroade, that the Captaine Generall did depart towarde Portingale, the king of Calycut was minded to returne and renewe the warres. Now the Captaine generall beeing determined and aduiſed by all the Captaines to ſet vppon Grangalor, he departed one night with xv. boates, the which were armed with paueyſes, and with fiue and twentie Paraos from Cochin, replenished with Ordinaunce. Alſo with theſe there went a Caruell, ſo that in the whole there were welnigh a thouſande of our men, with whom there went alſo as manye Nayres of Cochin. In the morning before it was daye, hee came to Palypuerto, for hee durſt venture no further, for that the Boates went verye heauie laden with theyr furniture, by reaſon wherof they could not paſſe the ſhoells that were there.

At this place there came againſt him the Prince with eight hundred Nayres, and after this ſort, ſome there were of them that went by lande, and ſome by water. Thus they departed toward Grangalor, where the king of Calycuts Captaine generall was, in two new ſhips, the which were cheined together full of Ordinaunce and men, and the moſt of them bowe men. And a ſtearne theſe ſhippes, and on both their ſides were theſe Paraos with many men alſo.

The Captaine Generall of the enimies had in his company two of his ſonnes, which wer accounted for to be very valyaunt Gentlemen. Our Fleet beeing come, the Ordinaunce beganne to goe off on both partes. Triſtam de la Silua, Alonſo de la cocta, Vaſco caruallo, Peralonſo de Aguylar, and Antonio de Saldania, which went in the Vangarde, diode cloſe with the two ſhips, with the which they fought a while.

Theſe

These ships being boorded, were immediately yelded, being first of all slaine, the Captaine generall and both his sonnes, the which fought very valyantlye, and also manye others, for that in this place was all the force of the Battaile. And as touching the Paraos that the other Captains did set vpon, there was but little to doe, for somuch that as sone as they saw their ships boorded they fled their waye. Wherevpon commaundement was giuen by the Captain generall, that all our men should disimbarke themselues, of whom the first fiue Captains were they that gaue the first onset vpon Nambeadarin, who offered to resist, with certaine Mayzes which he had in his retinue: with whome our men did fight with so valyant a minde, that they made theyr enimies to runne awaye. Then our men following the chase did set fire to certaine houses, beside all ỹ Towne which was dispoiled both by the Moores and Gentiles, the which did well know, that our men would come vpon thẽ, as also did Nambeadarin and his men, which fled awaye along the water side. Edwarte Pacheco, and the Factour Diego Hernando Correa, with the other Captaines didde disimbarke themselues in another place, who immediatelye began to set a fire the Citie. The Captaine generall in the meane while remained along the water side to keepe his men from scattering. Then the Christians that dwelt in this Citie, and that were hidden amongst the houses, when they saw the Towne all in a fire, came out from where they were hidden, crieng with a loude voyce, and requesting them not to kill them for that they were Christians. And some of them ther wer, ỹ went presently to the Captaine generall, to pray him that for Gods sake hee would commaund the fire to be quenched, for that they should els burne certaine Churches of our Ladie and of the Apostles which were in the Citie, as also their poore houses, ỹ which were mingled with the houses of the Gentiles and Moores. Then for their sakes, the Generall commaunded the fire immediatelye to be quenched, although that many of theyr houses were burnt, which for that they were made of timber,

The Captain generall of the enimies and his two sons slaine.

The fire commanded to be quenched

for ỹ pore christians sakes that dvvelt there

ber, did burne quickly. The fire being quenched, our men fel to ransaking of the houses of the Moores, among whom there were many which before time had dwelt in Calicut. Moreouer, the two shippes with their Paraos that were in the water were likewise burnt, besides other three ỹ were a land. This conflict yet continuing, there came thether the Prince of Coching, who told the Captaine Generall, that Nambeadaryn was not far off with his power, who was determined to returne to the Citie, after that he was departed. Then the Captaines procured license of the Captaine Generall that he would suffer them to goe seeke him out, ꝛ so they did. But as soone as the enimies had sight of them, they ran their way as fast as they could. The Captaine generall seeing this, did returne, ꝛ wold haue set vpon another Towne the which was not farre off, but for that the Prince of Coching requested him to the contrary, for that the one halfe of the same was his, and that it was vnpossible to destroy the one halfe without the other: and also for that the King of Calycuts subiects were ready to submit themselues vnto him, praying him to defend them. Then the Captaine generall entered into the Citie, ꝛ did ther make certain Knights, and afterward returned to the Forte, to the which the King of Coching came to visit him.

After a valiant exploit, the Captaine Generall maketh knights in recõpence of theyr vertue.

¶How the King of Tanor sent for succour to the Captaine generall, which he sent him. cap. 79.

After two or three daies past that the Captaine generall was in the Castle, there came thether vnto him an Embassadour from ỹ King of Tanor, who is next neighbour to the King of Calicut, who spake vnto him in this order, on ỹ king his masters behalfe, That whereas heereto he had bene a friend to the King of Calicut, and did alwaies aid him in all such wars as he had made against Edwarte Pacheco, now since he

An embassador sent to the cap

he is come out of the Tozcull, presuming on his great power, and hauing encreased or rather doubled his pride, doth in recompence of his good seruice, make warres vpon him. And therefore hauing knowledge that the King of Calicut was minded to set forwarde and to succour the Citie of Grangalor, and that his Captaine generall was marching toward the same, he did assemble 4000. Mayres, which he placed in certaine straights, by the which ỹ king of Calicut ” should passe, & at his comming did set vpon his whole campe ” & ouerthrew the same, with the death of 2000. of his men, ” which was the cause ỹ he came not to succour the citie of ” Grangalor, but with this losse returned to Calicut. Where- ” fore hauing done this exployt, he remaineth in feare, least ” he wil come and set vpon him. And therfore his request is, ” that the Captaine generall will succour him, since most hũ- ” bly he doth demaund ỹ same: which if he will doe, he will ” promise him to be true subiect to ỹ king of Portingale. To ” this Embassage ỹ General aunswered, ỹ he was wel con- ” tent to accept him for ỹ kings subiect, & to send Pedro Ra- ” phael with his Caruell, in ỹ which were an 100. men, the most whereof were Crossebowmen, & shot. It was a great chance, ỹ the same daye our men came to Tanor, thether came also ỹ king of Calicut by land with his whole camp, & gaue to ỹ king of Tanor battell, in which through ỹ valor of our men he was ouerthrowen, & many of his slaine. And for this succor ỹ the Generall sent thether, the king of Tanor remained subiect to ỹ king of Portingale. With this ouerthrow ỹ king of Calicut continued in great feare, & in lesse credit with ỹ Mayres, then he had with ỹ victories that Edwarte Pacheco had gotte against him, because those warres were made with strangers, but this with ỹ king of Tanor, who is his neighbor. Which thing was ỹ cause, ỹ all such Mayres, as dwelt in Calicut & Grangalor conceiued now so great a misliking to trade toward Meca, ỹ they determined to return to their cõtries: & for this cause, they laded xvii. great ships in Pandarane, fortifieng them to defend thẽselues from our men ỹ better, & to offend thẽ, if they should come.

tain generall from the king of Tanor, who made the Oration folowing

The king of Calycuts who! power ouerthrowen at Tanor, by ỹ king therof, & the Portingales

Alſo there were many Paraos and Tones, lykewiſe a lading as faſt as they could plye it.

¶How the Captaine generall fought in Pandarane with ſeuenteene great ſhips of the Moores, and how he ouercame them and burned them. Chap. 79.

THe Captaine generall perceiuing that of force he muſt needes returne, with all ſuch ſhips as were laden, by counſaile of the Captaines, and for ſecuritie of the King of Coching and of the Fort there, did therefore appoint and leaue in Coching a Captaine generall, with whom he left a ſhip and two Caruels, the one of Pedro Raphael, and the other of Diego Pieres. This Captaine was a Gentleman called Manuel telez de Vaſconcelos, whom the Captaine generall did preſent to the King of Coching, who had a great deale more deſire, that Edwarte Pacheco ſhould haue remained, for his good ſeruice, and affection he bare him, as I haue ſayd. Howbeit notwithſtanding, he durſt not demaund his tarrieng at the Captaine generalls hands, forſomuch as he was of a very ill condition. Edwarte Pacheco hauing knowledge of his going for Portingale, purpoſed firſt ere that he departed, to ſpeake with the King of Coching, the which he ſo did. For whoſe departure the King remained very ſorowfull, requeſting him to tarrie if ſo be it were poſſible in the Indias, and not to leaue him, for that as yet he did not think himſelfe ſure from the King of Calicut, and alſo he tolde him that he remembred that he had promiſed him ſundry times not to goe away, vntill ſuch time he had made him King of Calicut, and ſince as yet he had not the poſſeſſion of the ſame, he deſired him not to leaue him. Edwarte Pacheco aunſwered him, that he left him now in a good time, hauing his Countrey very quiet, forſomuch as the King of Calycut hath bene and now is abated ſo greatly of his pride,

the effect of the wordes, which the King of Coching ſpake to Edwarte Pacheco at his departure.

The aunſwere that Edwarte Pacheco, gaue to ye King of Coching

pride, that he nèded not to stande in no feare of him anye more. For sufficient prose whereof was, if none other thing, that now he sawe the Moores of Meca to go theyr way from Calycut as men desperate for the losse of their trade. Also that his going for Portingale was not but to returne, and then to serue him for a longer time, and more at his pleasure. With this aunswere the King was somwhat satisfied, and with the teares in his eyes desired him to pardon him, for that he did not giue him all that was his desire, in recompence of the seruice he had done for him, in consideration that he was so poore, as he did well knowe. Howbeit he intreated him, that of his Pepper which hée had, he would take what he woulde. The good vvill of a thankfull minde is much more vvorth thē many gifts

But Edwarte Pacheco would haue nothing, saieng, that he did trust in God, that when he returned to Coching, hée should finde him very rich, & in his prosperitie, and then he would receiue reward of him. And with this he departed, the King with all his subiects remaining verye heauie for his departure. Moreouer, the King wrote vnto the king of Portingale of all Edwarte Pacheco successes in the warres, and what he had done for him. After this the Captain gerall departed toward Cananor, the xvi. of September, carieng in his companye those Captaines which shoulde remaine in the Indias. His good will & intent was, to come to an Anker in the harbour of Panane, and there to visite the King of Tanor. But by reason of the ill weather they had, and their naughtie Pilots they could not reach ỳ same, but were driuen to Calycut and Pandarane. And from thence he commaunded Pedro Raphael and Diego Pieres to go before the Fléte, and to loke out, whether they could sée any ships of the Moores. Being arriued at Pandarane, & bearing along the Coast with a small winde, there came vpon them x. Paraos of the xvii. ships that wer ther a lading. Our men hauing sight of them, began forthwith to shote at them with their ordinaunce. The other Captayns being a Sea bord, and hearing the sound of the ordinance, did returne, and bare as close by the winde as they could.

And hauing ſight of the ſhips of the Moores to be a ground, came to Canaor by the Captaine generalls commaundement, who immediately entered into counſaile, in ẏ which it was determined by the whole conſent of his Captains, that they ſhuld fight with thoſe Moores, and that they ſhuld goe in their boates, for that their ſhips could not come nære vnto them, by reaſon they were within the Barre. And for that the enimies were many, that therefore they ſhould do what they could to cloſe with the ſhips, the which as ſone as they had done, they ſhuld ſet the ſame a fire. This being appointed, the Captaine general with all ẏ other Captains of the Fleete, did imbarke themſelues in their boates, the which were in all xb. in the which all the ſouldiers of the Fleete did imbarke themſelues, and that with a great courage for that they went to fight with their enimies. Theſe Moores as I ſayd, had their ſhips within the Barre, lyeng one cloſe by another, with their ſtearnes toward the land, and in the moſt part of them wer many ſouldiers, ẏ which were men of coulour white. Their weapons were bowes and arrowes, and alſo they had much ordinaunce. And on the land, at the entering of the barre were placed two pæces of ordinaunce vpon a ſmall bulwarke which they had made. Our men bearing nære to this barre, had ſight of the Captaine generall, and how the Caruells were ſomewhat farre off the ſhore, and that they came not, for that ẏ wind was but ſmall, and therefore were perforce driuen to returne backe for them, & to bring them by force of the oare within the Barre, for to ſuccour their boates. The other Captaines (although they ſaw him returne) went forward by force of the oare, and at the entering of the Barre, the Pellets fell as though it had rayned amongſt them. But for all this they entered, ſhoting of all their Ordinaunce. But as their enimies were farre more then they, ſo theyr arrowes were without number. And for that our men by reaſon they wer ſomwhat low vnder their ſhips, wer open without any defence, therefore did they receiue great hurt, not onely by their ordinance, but alſo by their arrowes.

The great prouiſion of the Moores againſt ſo fevv ſmall boates.

Pære

Here as it appeared, was all the force of the battaile: and for all the stoutnesse that was shewed by the enimies, yet our men entred into the middes of all the multitude of the shot, by force of the oare, in such sort ꝑ it appered as though the boats did flye, the men crying out S. Iames, S. Iames, & with ꝑ they laid those ships aboord: ꝑ first ꝑ laid any ship aboord was Tristim de la Silua, as sone as he was within the barr. And as ꝑ men of this ship were many, so they did shoote such abundance of arrowes & threw so many stones, ꝑ they made our men put off, who being off did immediately close with another, in ꝑ which for that there wer not so many, they boorded the same in despite of the Moores for all their stoutnes, in ꝑ which wer some of them slaine, & those that remained aliue leapt for feare into the water & swam away. About ꝑ same time ꝑ Tristim de la Silua had layde this ship a boord, Alonso de la costa did the like vnto another, which he toke to be ꝑ Admirall, of ꝑ which a Turke was Captaine with all his company, which were manye. And at the boording of this ship, were throwen such a multitude of stones and darts, that it was a wonder to see. It chaunced that before our men came to this ship, the enimies shooting at them with a peece, ꝑ which was lieng vpō the vpper decke, with ꝑ recoyling it rent out a peece of the ship side, so ꝑ ther was made so great a hole, & the enimies not regarding it, thought it more needfull to succor ꝑ forepart of their ship. And when our boat came hard a boord ꝑ same side where this hole was, our men did enter by the same. The first that entered, was Alonso Lopes Master, & another Aluoro Lopes, who was ꝑ kings seruant, & is now towne Clarke in Santaren, with diuers others. These altogether with those ꝑ came afterward, so fought with their enimies, that in the same conflict there were many slaine, others hid themselues vnder the hatches, & also others lept into ꝑ water, at ꝑ which time the most part of them were drowned, for that they wer laden with shirts of male. Immediatelye one Pero Alonso de Aguylar layde another ship a boord, hauing in his company Lyonel Cotinuo, and

It had ben better to haue called vppon God to haue succoured them in that extremytye.

alſo Edwarte Pacheco, Vaſco Caruallo, Antonyo de Saldano, and Ruy Lorenso, who all behaued themſelues very valyauntly. And as ſone as they had taken this ſhip, they immediately ſet the ſame a fire, and it toke the ſame very furiouſly, ſo that thereby their enemies were ſo exceedingly afeard, that the moſt part of them leapt into the water and drowned themſelues. While this was a doing, thether came the Captayne generall, with the Caruells, and beeing entered within the Barre, he lefte them. Then one of the peeces that were on the lande was ſhot off with a pellet, which ſtrake the Caruell of Pedro Raphael in ſuch ſort, & in ſuch a place, that with the ſame were three of his men ſlaine and ten ſore hurt, and for lacke of winde, the ſtoude carried him vnder the forecaſtle of a ſhip, of thoſe that wer not as yet layd aboord, the which had many men. And for that the ſhippe was higher then the Caruell, who had the ſame vnder his ſprit ſaile, therefore the enimies did enter, and handeled our men very ill, for that they altogether did ſet vpon them. Alſo there was another peece ſhot, with the which the Maſter of the ſhip was ſlain, being at the helme gouerning the Caruell, which being thus left at randon, before that there came any other to the helme, the Caruell fell vpon certaine Rockes, where ſhe remained till the battaile was ended. The Captaine generall viewing the danger that Pedro Raphael was in, commaunded him to bee ſuccoured, and ſo it was done. Then our men entering into the Caruell, the which was full of Woares, they behaued themſelues ſo valyantly, that they made them flye awaye, but notwithſtanding all our men that were within ỹ Caruell were ſore hurt. In the meane ſpace, all the ſhips of the enimies were burnt, and this alſo at the laſt, in the which was burnt great ſtore of Merchaundiſe, for that the ſame was laden. Which was done the rather, for that vpon the land there were many of the enimies which wer aſſembled together. And for that of our men there were many hurt, the Captain generall came his way with all his Captains toward their ſhips, where he found that there were ſlaine

The Mores for feare leap into the ſea, & drovvne theſelues.

Here vvas a great ſlaughter of the Portingals in reſpect of other battailes fought.

of

of our men xxb. and hurt an hundred and xxbii. men. But for all this the victorie was great. For ouer and besides the burning of the shippes with all their riches, the which was much, the Captaine generall was giuen to vnderstand by the Moores of Cananor, (to the which place from thence he went) that ther were slaine in this battell two thousand men. With this spoyle the king of Calicut remained so ill contented, that frō that time for a good while after, he could not recouer himself, for that his losse was great, besides that the Moores went from Calycut, by reason whereof there was so great necessitie & lacke of victuals there, that the citie remained almost vninhabited.

Of the safe arriuall of the Captaine Generall at Lisborne, and of the great honour the king Don Manuel gaue to Edwarte Pacheco. chap. 80.

THe next day after, the which was the first day of Januarie, the Captaine Generall departed toward Cananor, for that there he went to take in the rest of his lading. And being there arriued, the Factor gaue him to vnderstand of the great victory that he had gotten in Pandarane, and how the Moores were very pensiue for the same, suspecting that from thence forth all our men might remaine in the Indias, and that without feare. For as their pride was before this victorie great, so their pretence was alwayes thought to be, to kill both the Factor, and all those that remained with him. The like tale also did the king of Cananor alwayes tell. The Captaine Generall being readie to departe, before his going he made an Oration vnto Manuel Telez, and those that remained with him touching that which they should doe, laieng before them the great seruice that Edwarte Pacheco had done, and therefore he would giue him no greater a Fléte then Francisco de Alburquerque left, and an hundred fighting men in it. But after that he was departed,

The number of shippes and men, which were left in the Indias with Manuel Telez the Captain generall

there were in the Indias no more warres, for that the king of Calycut remained as in case aforesaid. The Captaine generall being departed from Cananor toward Portingale, he ariued at Mylinde the first day of September, where without comming a land, he sent Antonio de Saldanua to ẏ citie, for many rich prises which he had left there, & had taken before at the Cape Quardafum, where he went toward the Indias. And from thence he directed his course toward Quiloa, to recouer ther ẏ kings tribute which ẏ king wold not pay. From thence he departed the tenth day of Februarye, without chauncing vnto him any thing worth the writing, arriued at Lishborne the 22. day of June. 1525. with two ships more then he carried out with him, when he went toward the Indias. All these were laden with great store of riches, for the which the king Don Manuel gaue him great honour, and the like he did to Edwarte Pacheco, after ẏ he vnderstood what good seruice he had done him in the Indias, & how by his meanes the Factorie was there mainteined, & also the credit of his power. And for that all men shuld haue knowledge of so notable seruice, immediatly vpon thursday next after the Captaine generals arriuall, was commaunded to be made a solempne Procession, as they vse on Corpus Christi day, in the which he went from ẏ high church, vnto Santo Domingus, carieng with him Edwarte Pacheco. In this Church there was a Sermon, made by the Bishop of Vizew called Don Diego Ortis, who brought in by order, all that Edwarte Pacheco had done in the warres against the king of Calycut. This feast was not onely kept in Lishborne, but also in Algaruy, & in all the cities & notable towns of Portingale, which was so done by the kings commaundement. Moreouer, he wrote of the same vnto the Pope, by Don Ioan Sutill, which was then Bishop of Safin, who had the carriage of those letters. Besides ẏ, he sent the same to many christian Princes, ẏ they might know of those notable acts & victories, being such a thing, as within these our dayes no prince hath done ẏ like for his subiects.

1525.

Indeede this Edwarte Pacheco vvel deserued great honor & cōmendatiō for his seruice

FINIS.

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Thomas East, dwelling betweene
Paules Wharfe and Bay-
nards Castle.
1582.

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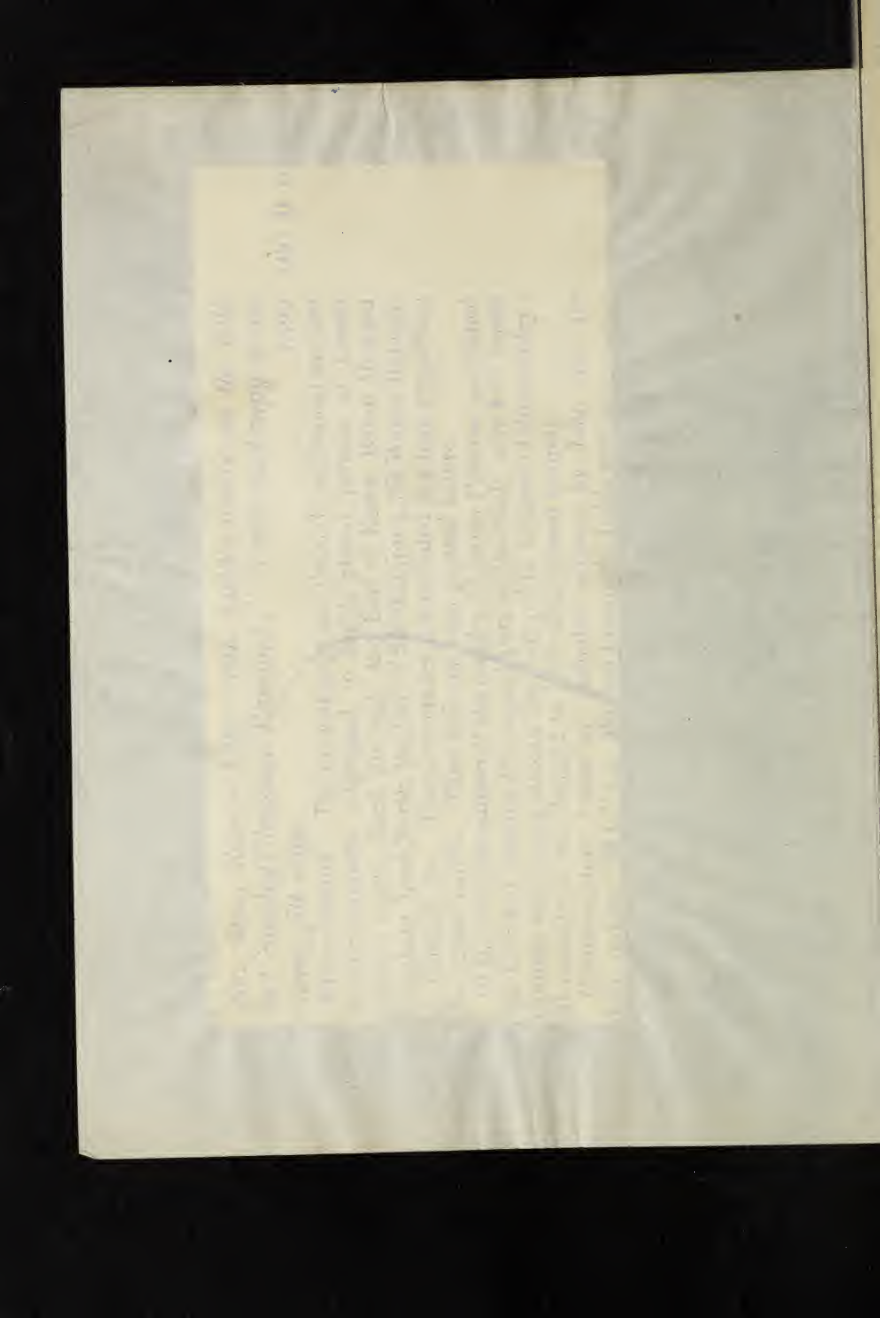
Sm. 4to., *black letter ; the catchword torn from* MM_2 *and supplied in facsimile, otherwise a fine copy in dark green levant morocco, gilt edges, by Rivière ; with the bookplate of Ralph Sneyd* 1582

This is the first book only of Castanheda's history, but it is the only part which is important for American history, as it includes Cabral's voyage and the landing in Brazil. Nothing more was ever printed in English or Spanish.

Nicholas Lichfield, who dedicates the book to Sir Francis Drake, professes to have translated it from the Portuguese, which he certainly did not. As the text of the first volume existed already in a Spanish and a French version, he may have used either. The author's prologue as given in the Spanish is an abridgment of the Portuguese prologue, and it agrees closely with Lichfield's English.



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